

**LITERATURE AND LITERARY LIFE
IN NASRID GRANADA (1238-1492)
AND THEIR RELATION TO STATE
POLITICS**

by

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ABSTRACT

Studies concerning Hispano-Arabic literature have rarely gone beyond the collapse of the Almohad dynasty in the middle of the 13th century. As the Arab presence in Spain continued for about two and a half more centuries and since the literature of this remaining period forms an important part of Hispano-Arabic literature, this thesis examines some aspects of that literature, appertaining mainly to Nasrid Granada (1238 - 1492). A quick survey of this literature shows that the bulk of it dealt and was closely involved with the political life of the state. The conflict between the last Muslim state in Spain and the Spanish states seems to have dominated every aspect of life in Granada. As a result of that prolonged conflict, the Granadines, both rulers and subjects appear to have lived with a constant political crisis, or complex. Granadine literature, in turn acutely sensitive to the political crisis reflected the peoples consciousness and anxieties, just as it followed the fortunes of the nation on the battlefield. This study is an attempt to describe how literature and literary life in Nasrid Granada interacted with political developments, and to examine and assess the resulting literary output.

The first chapter gives, by way of introduction, a historical background to the main political events in Nasrid Granada. In the second chapter the interaction between

literary life and political developments is examined in some detail. The third chapter describes how literature portrayed the state's military victories over the Spaniards, and how it made use of them to inspire a spirit of confidence and steadfastness. The repeated Granadine appeals for aid to Muslim peoples and governments inside and outside Granada, invariably made in the form of long odes or letters, are examined in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter attempts to show how the literature under discussion dealt with the political decline, the military reverses and the final fall of Granada. The sixth and last chapter outlines the technical characteristics of Granadine literature and attempts to give an assessment of it. A chapter on the social life in Granada was not found to constitute an integral part of the literature discussed in this thesis and has been included as an appendix.

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TRANSLITERATION TABLE

ء	ʾ	ض	ḍ
ا	ā (a)	ط	ṭ
ب	b	ظ	ẓ
ت	t	ع	ʿ
ث	th	غ	gh
ج	j	ف	f
ح	ḥ	ق	q
خ	kh	ك	k
د	d	ل	l
ذ	dh	م	m
ر	r	ن	n
ز	z	هـ	h
س	s	و	w (ū)
ش	sh	ي	y (ī)
ص	ṣ		

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CHAPTER I

The Historical Background

Throughout the first five centuries of their presence in Spain, the Spanish Muslims had not suffered a more disastrous defeat than that sustained at Las Navas de Tolosa (Al-‘Iqāb) in 609 / 1212. The Spanish Christian victory against the Muslims in that year is seen by some analysts as the result of the reaction by the Spanish Christians to their last defeat at Alarcos in 591 / 1194 and, to a certain degree, to the Christian (crusader) defeat at Ḥittīn at the hands of Saladin in 583/1187.⁽¹⁾

In 609 / 1212 Alfonso VIII of Castile, whose army was swelled by large numbers of volunteers from neighbouring countries,⁽²⁾ met the Almohad Caliph al-Nāṣir at Las Navas de Tolosa, where the Almohades were decisively routed, and few of their large army⁽³⁾ managed to escape.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Reconquest, pp. 119-124.

(2) Scott, p. 324; Rawd, p. 109.

(3) It is said that the Almohade army numbered 600.000 men. See: Dhakhīra, p. 41; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 446 & vol. 4, p. 383; Crestomatia, p. 75; Moors, p. 217.

(4) For details see: Dhakhīra, p. 41; Bayān, vol. 3, p. 240; Mu'nis, p. 118; Rawd, pp. 109 & 138; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 382; Mārquma, p. 222; Sundusiyya, p. 1009; McCabe, pp. 153-156; Murphy, p. 128; Scott, p. 323; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 446 & vol. 4, p. 383; Crestomatia, p. 75; Mu'jib, p. 401.

This defeat, which affected the power of the Almohades both in Andalusia and Africa, encouraged and helped the Spanish Christians to advance upon the disintegrating Muslim territories by capturing one city after another. This state of affairs encouraged different governors in several cities to declare their independence, seeking, in the process, the help of Castile for the defence of these cities one against the other. In return for the help offered, most of the governors pledged the payment of an annual tribute to the Christian kings.

The most eminent of those governors was Muḥammad Ibn Hūd, an Arab descended from the kings of Saragossa. He proclaimed himself king of Murcia in 626/1228 and pledged allegiance to the 'Abbāsid caliph in Baghdad. He then extended his rule over Seville, Cordova, and Granada.⁽¹⁾

In the meantime, a civil war broke out in Morocco among the members of the ruling family there.⁽²⁾ Many weak contenders succeeded each other on the throne of Morocco. The last Almohad caliph was al-Wāthiq, who was killed by Ya'qūb Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī in 668 / 1270

(1) For details see: Mughrib, vol. 2, p. 251; Bayān, vol. 3, pp. 255-295 & 335-369; A'māl, vol. 2, pp. 319-321; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 128; 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 361; Rawd, p. 118; Scott, p. 391; McCabe, p. 156; Reconquest, p. 140; Arabic Spain, p. 279...

(2) In this state of anarchy some of the Almohade princes sought the help of Castile ('Ibar, vol. 4, p. 395).

after the fall of Marrakesh, the Almohade capital, into the hands of Banū Marīn.⁽¹⁾

At the same time, a number of new states were established in Africa; Abū Zakariyyā al-Ḥafṣī, the viceroy of Tunisia, declared his independence from Almohade rule in 625/1227.⁽²⁾ Yaghmurāsān Ibn Zayyān, established the Zayyānid dominion in Tlemcen in 633 / 1235,⁽³⁾ while the strongest kingdom to emerge was the Marīnid, which afterwards replaced the empire of the Almohades. It was founded by Banū Marīn, a Berber pastoral tribe from Zenāta.⁽⁴⁾ They entered Fez under the command of Abū Bakr Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq, and proclaimed it their capital in 646/1248.⁽⁵⁾

At the same time, the internal strife in Andalusia encouraged King Ferdinand III of Castile to attack Cordova and wrest it from Ibn Hūd,^{in 1238}⁽⁶⁾ while Jaime I, king of Aragon, advanced towards east Andalusia, attacked Valencia,

(1) Subh, vol. 5, p. 194; Mawshiyya, p. 129; Mu‘jib, p. 419.

(2) ‘Ibar, vol. 7, p. 154.

(3) Rawda, p. 45, Bughyat al-Ruwād, vol. 1, p. 104; Ma‘āthir, vol. 2, p. 110.

(4) Dhakhira, p. 10; Masālik/Africa, p. 134.

(5) See: Anis, p. 198; Bayān, vol. 3, p. 351 & 415; Dhakhira, p. 10; Mawshiyya, p. 127; Sundusiyya, p. 1016; Rawda, p. 8; Jadhwa, p. 101; Raqm, p. 76; ‘Ibar, vol. 7, p. 8; Subh, vol. 5, p. 194; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 285; Istiqsā‘, vol. 3, p. 5; Reconquest, p. 134.

(6) ‘Ibar, vol. 4, p. 360; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 472.

and forced it to capitulate in 636/1238.⁽¹⁾ The Arab presence in Spain appeared to be seriously menaced.

In the course of these developments, the star of Muḥammad Ibn-Yūsuf Ibn Naṣr, known as Ibn al-Aḥmar was rising in the sky of west Andalusia. He was an Arab chief, whose complete lineage is usually given as, Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Khamīs Ibn ‘Uqail Ibn Naṣr Ibn Qais al-Anṣārī al-Khazrajī, a descendant of Sa‘d Ibn ‘Ubāda, a favoured companion of the Prophet Muḥammad and the chief of the Anṣār.⁽²⁾

Although a great number of poems written in praise of the Nasrid kings are in agreement concerning this lineage,⁽³⁾ one cannot, nevertheless, accept this claim as an authentic one, as it seems to be a political incentive which has led to the claim that the founder of the Nasrid dynasty was a descendant of the Anṣār, the early supporters of the Prophet Muḥammad. This was at a

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- (1) Bayān, vol. 3, pp. 244, 292, 436, 344 & 345; Dhakhīra, pp. 53, 59, 164 & 165; Ihāta, p. 178; A‘māl, vol. 2, pp. 312-318; Rawd, pp. 48, 57, 59, 60, 63, 128, 136, 149, 158, 161, 191 & 196; ‘Ibar, vol. 4, pp. 360, 368 & 392, vol. 7, pp. 392-393; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 456-473; Raqm, p. 108.
- (2) See: Lamha, p. 32; Nuzha, pp. 102 & 111; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 92; ‘Ibar, vol. 4, p. 366; Subh, vol. 5, p. 260; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 294 & vol. 7, p. 186; Qalā'id al - Jumān, p. 94.
- (3) None of the writers of these poems dared, it would seem, to refute this claim.

time, when the Andalusians were looking for the best of several choices from among the many chiefs, such as Ibn Hūd in Murcia, Ibn Mardaniṣh in Valencia, the Almohades in Seville and Cordova, and Ibn al-Aḥmar in Arjona, who would be worthy of their allegiance. Each of these masters wanted to gain the sympathy of the Andalusians by all possible means, and it seemed useful and expedient to appeal to the religious consciousness of the Andalusian Muslims, who were concerned about the destiny of Islam in Andalusia. It must have been felt how much a policy of tracing their lineage to the Anṣār would further the cause of Banū Naṣr, whose jurists and court writers produced many hadīths of the Prophet purporting to stress the superiority of the Anṣār and their progeny.⁽¹⁾ This was also probably intended to turn the attention of the Andalusians away from the common desire to pledge their allegiance to the 'Abbāsīd⁽²⁾ caliphs in Baghdad as Ibn Hūd, for example, had done.⁽³⁾

There are some sources which throw some light on this matter. Ibn Sa'īd, who was a contemporary of Ibn al-Aḥmar, mentions the latter's name as Abū 'Abd-Allāh

(1) See: Nuzha, p. 113.

(2) Iḥāta, vol. 2, p. 95.

(3) West and south-west Andalusia were at that time inhabited by Yemanite tribes among whom were the Anṣār. Ibn al-Aḥmar must have been aware of this situation and must have tried to exploit it. An examination of the names of people in that period in Granada would reveal that most of them ended with "Anṣārī" and with Yemanite tribe names.

Muḥammad Ibn al-Aḥmar al-Marwānī.⁽¹⁾ The name Marwānī does not usually appear in Ibn al-Aḥmar's lineage, and it is mostly used for persons who were descended from the Umayyads.

Ibn Khaldūn indicates that Ibn al-Aḥmar was descended from the Umayyads.⁽²⁾ *On the other hand, Al-Qalqashandī says: "I have not found a single reference to Ibn al-Aḥmar's descent from Saʿd Ibn ʿUbāda".⁽³⁾ Ibn al-Khatīb, the prime minister of two Nasrid kings, reports that the strongest evidence on which authors relied in ascertaining this lineage was the account of al-Rāzī who reports that two grandsons of Saʿd Ibn ʿUbāda entered Andalusia. One, he says, settled in Tākurunna and the other in al-Khazraj village, in the outskirts of Saragossa.⁽⁴⁾

Although many sources are in agreement that Ibn al-Aḥmar, the founder of the Nasrid dynasty, was born in 592/1195, and brought up at Arjona in the province of Cordova

(1) Mughrib, vol. 2, p. 109.

(2) Muqaddima, vol. 2, p. 260.

(*) It seems that Ibn Saʿīd and Ibn Khaldūn considered Ibn al-Aḥmar al-Marwānī al-Andalusī, the grandson of Muʿāwiyah Ibn Hishām and the narrator of Sunan al-Nasāʿī as the grandfather of Banū Nasr. See: Jamharat Ansāb al-ʿArab, p. 85, and the preface of Sunan al-Nasāʿī, Riwayāt Ibn al-Aḥmar.

(3) Subh, vol. 5, p. 260.

(4) Ihāṭa, vol. 2, p. 92; Estudio, p. 120. It would appear that Ahmad Amīn misunderstood the matter when he said that the ancestors of Banū al-Aḥmar were the kings of Saragossa (Zuhr, vol. 3, p. 40).

among his family and relatives,⁽¹⁾ one cannot find Arjona mentioned among the places visited by the grandsons of Sa'd Ibn 'Ubada.⁽²⁾ On the other hand, if al-Rāzī's account was considered the strongest evidence, this could mean that the lineage of Ibn al-Aḥmar, as reported, is not an authentic one, because al-Rāzī's account gave no details nor the names of the two men mentioned above. It should be also added that the names produced by Ibn Ḥazm in his authoritative work, Jamharat Ansāb al-'Arab, do not bear any resemblance to those mentioned in the lineage of Ibn al-Aḥmar by other authors.

The members of this dynasty were known both as Banū Naṣr and Banū al-Aḥmar. Stanley Lane-Poole says that the founder of the dynasty of Banū Naṣr was an Arab named Ibn al-Aḥmar or the redman, because of his fair skin and hair.⁽³⁾ Abu al-Ḥasan al-Nubāhī says that 'Uqail, a distant grandfather of this family was nicknamed Al-Aḥmar.⁽⁴⁾ There are, however, two other historians who merit our close attention: Al-Marrākushī, a contemporary of Ibn al-Aḥmar, and Ismā'īl Ibn al-Aḥmar, a grandson of al-Aḥmar; both of them say that

(1) Lamha, p. 42; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 99; Rawd, p. 12.

(2) Ibn Ḥazm reports that "there are some descendants of Sa'id Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ubāda in an Andalusian village known as Qurbulān in the province of Saragossa, descended from al-Ḥusain Ibn Yahyā Ibn Sa'id Ibn 'Ubāda, and in Sidonia: Banū 'Aramram Ibn Jamīl Ibn 'Isām Ibn Qatāda Ibn Waṭṭād Ibn Qais Ibn Sa'd Ibn 'Ubāda" (Jamhara 346). There is no accordance between the lineage of Banū al-Aḥmar and these names mentioned by Ibn Ḥazm.

(3) Moors, p. 218.

(4) Nuzha, p. 11.

Yūsuf, the father of Muḥammad I was nicknamed al-Aḥmar.⁽¹⁾

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- (1) Bayān, p. 279; Nathīr Farā'id, pp. 131, 215, 235, and several other pages. Al-Marrākushī adds that Ibn al-Aḥmar resorted to the use of the red colour in various aspects of his life. Besides using it in his nickname and on his seal, it also appeared on his saddle, in his writings and on his clothes and other belongings (see: Bayān, p. 279).

It is commonly agreed now that there is no relationship between the nickname al-Aḥmar (and the adoption of the red colour as an emblem) on the one hand, and the name of the Alhambra palace on the other, although it was the Banū al-Aḥmar who built the palace and improved on it in successive generations. It would seem that the persistent use of the nickname al-Aḥmar by the successive kings of this dynasty was a reflection of the Arabs' reverence for the names of their ancestors. It also seems likely that the original adoption of the nickname al-Aḥmar by the founder of the dynasty, together with the adoption of the red colour as an emblem were only meant to help Ibn al-Aḥmar to distinguish himself and his family from other ruling families at the time, and to stress his independence. Many sources refer to the appearance or presence of the red colour on banners, seals, papers and various other belongings of Ibn al-Aḥmar, as already indicated. (see: Kunāsa, p. 152; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 19; Katība, p. 284; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 76.)

As to the name of the palace, some mediaeval annalists say that it was called al-Ḥamrā' because it was built on the remains of an earlier citadel known as al-Qal'at al-Ḥamrā' (Nihāya, p. 209), and that the latter took its name from the reddish soil of the hill on which it was built (Provençal, p. 60; Qissa, p. 39). Balba' states, with little evidence to support his claim, that the people who lived in the red castle of Granada in 275 / 888 were known as Banū al-Aḥmar ("Balba'" p. 70)

There is sufficient ground to make one believe, however that the name al-Ḥamrā' was not originally given to the grand palace but was the name of the hill on which the palace and the citadel before it were built. The epithet al-Ḥamrā' applying to the hill and its immediate surroundings seems to have been transferred =

In 629 /1231 Muḥammad I Ibn al-Aḥmar proclaimed himself king of west Andalusia, and secured control of Arjona, Jaen, Guadix and Baza.⁽¹⁾ He then advanced upon the territories of Ibn Hūd, and in 630/ 1232 he captured Cordova and Seville. But only one month after acknowledging his supremacy, Seville and Cordova returned to their alliance with Ibn Hūd.⁽²⁾ The latter was, however, shortly afterwards, defeated in three separate encounters with Ibn al-Aḥmar.⁽³⁾ This greatly enhanced the reputation of Ibn al-Aḥmar in Granada, and its people despatched messengers to him at Jaen, declaring their allegiance to him. He finally entered Granada in 635/1238.⁽⁴⁾

Fearing the ambitions of Ibn al-Aḥmar, Ibn Hūd hastened to ally himself with Ferdinand III of Castile, and granted him a number of fortresses and towns, and pledged to pay him

= in time to the palace and to have become its proper name. There is sufficient evidence for this in the statement by al-Marrākushī that "In 636 A.H.(1238A.D.) Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Aḥmar moved out from Granada to the place named al-Ḥamrā' (Mawḍi' al-Ḥamrā'), looked round all of it and founded the fortress in it using the dug out soil of the foundations (Wa ja'ala fihi min hafrihi) (Bayān, vol. 3, p. 345).

(1) Lamha, p. 42; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 93; Raḡm, p. 109; Nuzha, p. 116; Ibar, vol. 4, p. 366 & vol. 7, p. 391; Wafī, vol. 5, p. 255; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 447.

(2) Bayān, vol. 3, p. 279; Mughrib, vol. 2, p. 109; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 93; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 448.

(3) A'mal, vol. 2, p. 321; Wafī, vol. 5, p. 255.

(4) For details see: Dhakhira, p. 60; Bayān, vol. 3, p. 336; Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 98 & 133; Lamha, pp. 33 & 47; Ṣubḥ, vol. 5, p. 261; Ma'āthir, vol. 2, p. 88; Inscripciones, p. 23. See also art. "Nasrids" in EI¹, III, 879.

an annual tribute.⁽¹⁾ Soon after Ibn al-Aḥmar had entered Bādī's palace in Granada, he received news of Ibn Hūd's assassination by his governor in Almeria. Subsequently he attacked Almeria and wrested it from its governor, who fled to Tunisia.⁽²⁾ In 637 / 1239 he entered Málaga after receiving the allegiance of its people.⁽³⁾

Ibn al-Aḥmar was thereafter in a race with Ferdinand III for the possession of the Andalusian cities. In 639 / 1241 Ferdinand laid siege to Jaen, and Ibn al-Aḥmar was compelled to surrender the city and declare his vassalage to the Castilian monarch. A peace treaty, meant to last for twenty years, was then concluded between the two monarchs, in which Ibn al-Aḥmar accepted to pay a certain sum of gold to Castile every year, to attend the Cortes of Ferdinand when summoned, and to send a certain number of fursān to Castile when called upon to do that for any enterprise.⁽⁴⁾ In accordance with this treaty Ibn al-Aḥmar played a considerable part in the Castilian conquest of Seville in 646/1248.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) Ibar, vol. 4, p. 368 & vol. 7, p. 392; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 448.
(2) Dhakhīra, p. 60; Mughrib, vol. 2, p. 199; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 330; Subh, vol. 5, p. 261; Ma'āthir, vol. 2, p. 103; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 464.
(3) Bayān, p. 345; Subh, vol. 5, p. 61; Ma'āthir, vol. 2, p. 88.
(4) For details see: Dhakhīra, p. 72; Mughrib, vol. 2, p. 52; Bayān, vol. 3, p. 367; Lamha, p. 48; Ihāṭa, vol. 2, p. 98; Conde, p. 138; Scott, p. 403.
(5) For details see: Dhakhīra, pp. 72-74; Bayān, p. 381; Ibar, vol. 4, p. 368; Jadhwa, p. 242; Conde, p. 141; Scott, p. 407.

After the fall of Seville Ibn al-Aḥmar gave his attention to his people and country. He encouraged the establishment of schools, hospitals, industries and food stores. He gave an audience two days in the week to discuss his peoples' needs and grievances. He also started the building of the Alhambra palace, and it is said that he directed the work in person.⁽¹⁾

In 650/1252 Muḥammad I renewed the treaties of peace and alliance with Alfonso X of Castile, who ascended the throne after Ferdinand III's death.⁽²⁾ He then took part in Alfonso X's campaign against Jerez, Algarve, Arcos, Sidonia Niebla and Lebrija.⁽³⁾

After the fall of Jerez in 659 / 1261,⁽⁴⁾ Muḥammad I promised his support to the people of the conquered cities, who rose against the Christian garrisons in several places such as Murcia, Valencia, Jerez, Algarve, Niebla and others. The insurrection was frustrated, and the attempt by Muḥammad I to bring these lands under his rule ended in failure. Large numbers of the inhabitants of these cities were exiled to Granada.⁽⁵⁾ Some sources state that when

(1) Bayān, vol. 3, p. 345; Lamha, pp. 34-44; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 95; Nuzha, p. 117, Conde, p. 133; Arabic Spain, p. 334.

(2) Conde, p. 191.

(3) Conde, pp. 149-151.

(4) Dhakhīra, p. 106; Bayān, p. 431.

(5) Bayān, vol. 3, p. 438; Conde, p. 154; Scott, p. 427; McCabe, pp. 161-162.



A view of the Alhambra

Muhammad I went to Seville to renew the peace in 662/1263 - 1264 , he discovered a conspiracy there against his life planned by the Castilian court.⁽¹⁾

Fearing the consequences of such reports Ibn al - Ahmar sent messengers to Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Ibn 'Abd al - Haqq al-Marīnī, king of Morocco, explaining the urgent need of the Andalusians for Moroccan help. Abū Yūsuf found this a ripe opportunity to rid himself of his troublesome nephews who opposed his rule. He therefore sent 'Āmir and Muḥammad, the sons of his brother Idrīs, at the head of some three thousand fursān and volunteers to Andalusia. They are reported to have fought many battles against the Spanish Christians.⁽²⁾

When Alfonso X realized the danger which might arise from the Moroccan intervention he directed his efforts to try and impose a tighter control on the whole of Andalusia. Consequently, he entered Murcia, whose governor was his ally, in 665 / 1267 , ⁽³⁾ and attacked Granada several times,⁽⁴⁾ a matter which compelled Ibn al-Ahmar to

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- (1) Bayān, p. 436.
(2) Bayān, pp. 431 & 439; Dhakhīra, pp. 108-111; Anīs, p. 218; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 99; Lamha, p. 48, 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 369 & vol. 7, p. 393.
(3) Dhakhīra, p. 129.
(4) Dhakhīra, pp. 113 & 124.

make peace with Alfonso X, granting him a large number of fortresses and towns.⁽¹⁾ Many poets of Granada sent appeals at this time to Abū Yūsuf, king of Fez, who was engaged in a war against Yaghamrāsān of Tlemcen.⁽²⁾ In the year 669/1271, Alfonso X attacked Algeciras by land and sea, while the Andalusian poets and writers continued sending their appeals to Morocco.⁽³⁾

By this time a number of factors combined to impede the completion of the Christian invasion of the small kingdom of Granada, which was to survive as an independent kingdom for another two and a half centuries. First among these factors, as pointed out by many scholars,⁽⁴⁾ was the geographical position of Granada,⁽⁵⁾ whose surrounding lofty

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- (1) The number of those towns and small townships differs from one account to another, but it is agreed that it was between 40 and 105, see: Dhakhīra, p. 127; Bayān, p. 470; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 392.
 - (2) Dhakhīra, p. 142; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 379.
 - (3) Dhakhīra, p. 142.
 - (4) Scott, p. 507; Reconquest, p. 162; Watt, p. 148; Hajjī, p. 519.
 - (5) Granada was founded in the third century of the Hijra. Elvira, which lies two miles to the north west of Granada, was at that time the capital of the area. But later on Elvira became practically empty of its people who emigrated to Granada after the collapse of the caliphate at the end of the fourth century of the Hijra. Granada was then fortified and populated, and its castle (qasaba) was built by Habūs al-Ṣanhājī, who ruled it after the death of his uncle Zāwī Ibn Zīrī in 420/1029. Habūs was succeeded by his son Bādīs, then by ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Buluggīn who was deposed by the Almoravides in 484/1091. The Almohades succeeded the Almoravides in 540/1145 and ruled Granada until the year 626/1228. When Ibn Hūd rose up. Finally in 635/1238, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ahmar entered Granada and made it his capital after the fall of the =

mountains gave her a natural form of defence. On the other hand, Ferdinand III, like his father, intended to recover the whole of Andalusia, and even invade Egypt, Syria and north Africa.⁽¹⁾ After his death, his successor Alfonso X entertained the same ambitions, but his attention was diverted by the quarrels which broke out between him and his nobles on the one hand, and between him and the king of Aragon, on the other, for the control of Murcia. He had also

= vast majority of Andalusian cities into the hands of the Christians. This last Muslim state in Andalusia was originally conquered by the Arabs in 93 / 711 and was mostly inhabited by the Syrian Arabs in 114/732 (For details see: Rawd, p. 23; Lamha, pp. 26-32; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 92, 93, 103, 140 & 191; A'māl, vol. 2, pp. 261-170; Ibar, vol. 4, p. 345; Mughrib, vol. 1 pp. 106-108; Murphy, p. 128; Sordo, p. 111). See also art. "Gharnāta", EI², II, 1012.

The remaining Muslim territories in Spain lay in the south eastern corner of Andalusia, extending over 700 square miles round the mountains of Elvira and Ronda, and along the sea coast from Almeria in the east to Gibraltar in the west. The state of Granada thus had many sea ports such as Almeria, Malaga, Marbella, Tarifa, Ronda, and Gibraltar. It had a number of rivers such as the Darro, and Genil. Granada was likened to Damascus, on account of its Vega, a wide fertile plain in the south west of the city, and watered by its many streams. Granada was at the same time rich in minerals like gold and silver. (For more details concerning the geographical character of the kingdom of Granada see: Lamha, p. 22; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 96; Mi'yār/Andalus; Mufākhara; Masālik/Andalus, pp. 33-50; Rawd, pp. 23-24 and other pages; Subh, vol. 5, p. 214; Manāhij, vol. 2, p. 188; McCabe, p. 251; Murphy, p. 187; Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 147, 176 & 177, vol. 3, p. 217; Bertrand, p. 209; Sordo, p. 108).

(1) Subh, vol. 8, p. 35; Arabic Spain, p. 335; O'callaghan, p. 354.

to deal with the discontent of the Muslim inhabitants of his territories who were looking for an opportunity to revolt.⁽¹⁾ During this time Muḥammad I increased the numbers of his regular army, built a great number of fortresses and watch towers, fortified his cities and frontiers, and invited volunteers, fursān and mercenaries, from many countries, including Castile itself.⁽²⁾ Moreover, he seems to have utilised every minute of his twenty years' peace with Castile to rebuild the power of his country. By the time of his death Granada is reputed to have been as strong as Castile.

Many other reasons are suggested for Granada's long - lasting independence.⁽³⁾ It seems, however, that one of the important factors which helped to preserve the independence of Granada was the policy of the Banū Naṣr who relied to a great extent on the talents of their writers and learned men. These men of learning or men of letters, in addition to

(1) See: A'māl, vol. 2, p. 4; Nihāya, p. 102; Monroe, p. 16; Scott, p. 419; Reconquest, p. 163; Nicholson, p. 435.

(2) Conde, p. 165; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 239; Raḡm, p. 109.

(3) Watt says that Castile with many Muslim subjects may have felt it was useful to have a Muslim state near - by to which the more discontented could flee for refuge (Watt, p. 148). Al-Warrāq says that by the payment of tribute the Andalusians could retain Granada for a long time (Manāḥij, vol. 2, p. 190; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 446). Lomax says that the inhabitants of Granada were wealthy since they exported their manufactures to the Maghrib and exchanged them for Sudanese gold which they used as tribute to pay off the Christian attacks when necessary; Vives Vives suggests that the Christians refrained from conquering Granada for fear of cutting this supply of gold (Reconquest, p. 162). Lomax adds that the Christian states were weaker than they seemed. (Reconquest. 162).

playing an important part in the eventful political and martial life of Granada, helped to convince the African rulers to send their troops to Andalusia in support of Granada on several occasions.

This African interference in Andalusia could have been one of the major factors⁽¹⁾ which contributed to the long survival of Granada after the fall of the vast majority of Andalusian cities to the Spanish Christians.

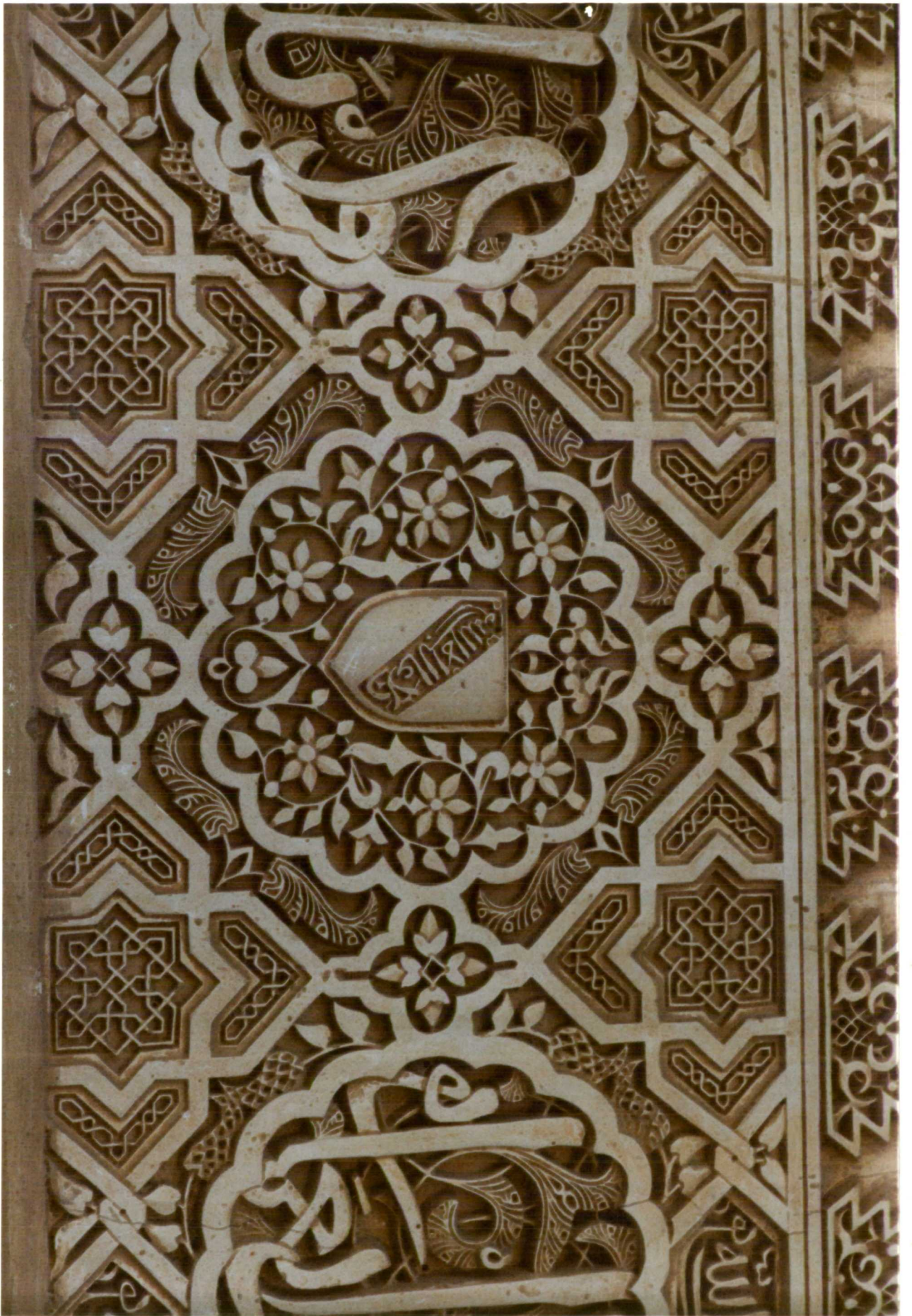
The first Marīnid force sent to offer its help to Granada entered Andalusia in 662 / 1263-64 . When Alfonso X besieged Algeciras by land and sea in 670 / 1271⁽²⁾ to stop African supplies, Ibn al-Ahmar sent his appeals for African help,⁽³⁾ not only against the Christians, but also against Banū Ashqilūla, the governors of Malaga and Guadix, who allied themselves with Alfonso X against him.⁽⁴⁾ But Muḥammad I died before he could get the Marīnid help he sought, and before his death in 671 / 1273 he urged his son Muḥammad II to ally himself with the Marīnids and to

(1) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 510; Muqaddima, vol. 2, p. 478; Watt, p. 148.

(2) Dhakhira, p. 142.

(3) Dhakhira, pp. 146-149.

(4) These governors were Ibn al-Ahmar's sons-in-law, and their father was one of the first followers and staunch supporters of Ibn al-Ahmar; but they held their cities in the year 662 A.H (1263-64) and sought the aid of Castile, which patronised them for a long time (Conde, p. 166; Nuzha, p. 115; A'māl vol. 2, p. 330; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 406; Dhakhira, p. 125.



The emblem of the Nasrid kings

ask for their help when it was needed.⁽¹⁾

Muḥammad II, nicknamed Al-Faqīh, was a poet, linguist, and patron of literature and science. He was aided by his poets 'Azīz Al-Dānī, Ibn al-Ḥakīm and Ibn al-'Ābid al-Anṣārī.⁽²⁾ At the beginning of his reign, the rebels at Malaga and Guadix doubled their attacks upon Granada⁽³⁾ in support of their ally Alfonso X.⁽⁴⁾ Muḥammad II despatched his messengers to Abū Yūsuf, king of Morocco, with letters in which he asked for the Marīnids' help.⁽⁵⁾

Having captured Sijilmāsa in 672-673 / 1273 Abū Yūsuf sent his son Abū Zayyān Mandīl at the head of a well equipped detachment of five thousand men to Andalusia, where they marched into the Christian territories as far as Jerez.⁽⁶⁾ The next year Abū Yūsuf made peace with Yagumrāsan of Tlemcen, and crossed into Andalusia with a large army of volunteers, tribesmen, and mercenaries. He was met at Tarifa by Ibn al-Aḥmar and the rebels of Malaga, and, together, they

(1) 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 369 & vol. 7, p. 393; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 99; Lamha, pp. 33 & 48; Nuzha, p. 117; Marqaba, p. 125; Dhakhīra, p. 144; Subh, vol. 5, p. 261; Inscripciones, p. 207.

(2) See: Marqaba, p. 125; Bayān, vol. 3, p. 415; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 393; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 557; Lamha, p. 50; Wāfi, vol. 1, p. 207; Nuzha, pp. 117-119.

(3) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 557.

(4) Conde, pp. 170-172.

(5) Dhakhīra, p. 164; Anīs, p. 225; 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 369 & vol. 7, p. 393; Conde, p. 173.

(6) Dhakhīra, p. 164; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 393.

discussed the latter's disputes with Granada.⁽¹⁾ But Ibn al-Ahmar seems to have left the conference in anger.⁽²⁾ Abū Yūsuf then directed his armies to the Christian territories where he gained several victories, among which was the victory of Ecija where Don Nuño de Lara, the leader of the Castilian army, was badly defeated and killed.⁽³⁾

After his victory, Abū Yūsuf returned to Algeciras, which was granted to him by its governor, while Muhammad II granted him the cities of Tarifa, Gibraltar, and Ronda to use as bases.⁽⁴⁾ Abū Yūsuf received a number of congratulatory poems. Among them was a poem sent by Ibn Ashqilūla, which begins with the verse:⁽⁵⁾

هَبَّتْ بِنَصْرِكُمُ الرِّيحُ الْأَرْبَعُ وَسَرَتْ بِسَعْدِكُمُ النُّجُومُ الطُّلُوعُ

The four winds have already brought us
tidings of your victories, and the
stars, as they rise, hail your success.

Having spent two months in Algeciras, Abū Yūsuf then made a second foray into Andalusia in which he attacked

- (1) Dhakhira, pp. 155-167; Anis, p. 226; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 406; Conde, p. 99; Scott, p. 437.
- (2) Marqūma, p. 234; Lamha, p. 57; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 397. Most sources say that he did so because Banū Ashqilūla behaved in a rude and supercilious manner towards him in the presence of Abū Yūsuf.
- (3) Anis, p. 227; Dhakhira, p. 168; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 397; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 565; Ihāta, MS, p. 158; Istiqsā', vol. 3, p. 41; "Musnad" (Hesperis, vol. 5, p. 18); Conde, p. 176; Scott, p. 438.
- (4) Ibar, vol. 4, p. 369 & vol. 7, p. 396.
- (5) Dhakhira, p. 182; Anis, p. 230 (Tr. Adler, p. 33).

Seville, Jerez and other cities.⁽¹⁾ He then decided to depart for Fez, leaving a few thousand fursān in Algeciras.⁽²⁾

On the eve of Abū Yūsuf's departure, Ibn al-Aḥmar wrote to him apologizing and expressing his fears of a Christian revenge. A number of historically important poems were thus exchanged by the poets of Ibn al-Aḥmar and Abū Yūsuf on behalf of the two monarchs, concerning the relations between Granada and Morocco.⁽³⁾

In view of Ibn al-Aḥmar's fears, Abū Yūsuf returned to Fez to prepare for another invasion. In 676 / 1279 A. D. he entered Andalusia, and, together with the rebels of Malaga and Guadix, attacked Seville, Cordova and Jaen and captured several towns. He was then joined by Ibn al-Aḥmar, and together they devastated many cities and forced Alfonso X to ask for peace. Abū Yūsuf is reputed to have said to the messengers of Alfonso X who came suing for peace: "I am a guest, and I cannot make peace on behalf of my host" (indicating Ibn al-Aḥmar). It appears that Abū Yūsuf wanted to assure Ibn al-Aḥmar that he had no desire of adding Granada to his kingdom.⁽⁴⁾ Yet Ibn al-Aḥmar was still worried

(1) Dhakhīra, pp. 83-184; Anīs, pp. 231-232; Istiḡṣā', vol. 3, p. 42.

(2) Dhakhīra, p. 185; Anīs, p. 232.

(3) For these poems see: Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 408, 409 & 414; Durra, vol. 3, pp. 20 & 23.

(4) Anīs, pp. 233-237; Mawshīyya, p. 132; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 564; Istiḡṣā', vol. 3, pp. 45-48; Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 403-405; Conde, p. 99.

about the cordial relations developing between Abū Yūsuf and the rebel governors of Málaga and Guadix. In the year 677/1280 Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ashqilūla the governor of Málaga died, and his son transferred the city's rule to Abū Yūsuf, who appointed a certain 'Umar Ibn Yahyā as its governor. Ibn al-Aḥmar was angered by this development, and tried to recapture the city from Abū Yūsuf, who insisted on keeping it for himself. Ibn al-Aḥmar convinced its governor to surrender it to him. He thereupon allied himself with Alfonso against the Marīnids, and sent letters to Yaḡhamrāsan of Tlemcen asking him to increase his attacks upon the Marīnid cities in order to impede their incursions into Andalusia.⁽¹⁾ Subsequently, Alfonso X laid siege to Algeciras for the same purpose; but when its people started to suffer the consequences of the siege, Ibn al-Aḥmar gave up his alliance with Alfonso, and sent his navy to join the African navy in the Straits. Together they defeated the Castilians and recaptured Algeciras.⁽²⁾ After that victory, Abū Ya'qūb Ibn Abū Yūsuf concentrated his attention on recapturing Málaga from Ibn al-Aḥmar. For this purpose he received assistance from his brother Abū Zayyān, and Abū Ishāq Ibn Ashqilūla, the governor of Guadix, and attacked the territories of Ibn al-Aḥmar, but was repulsed.⁽³⁾ Moreover,

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- (1) Anīs, pp. 237-238; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 322; Lamḥa, pp. 57-58; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 565; 'Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 407 & 183.
(2) Anīs, pp. 239-242; Lamḥa, p. 58; 'Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 418 & 419.
(3) A'māl, vol. 2, p. 333; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 42; Anīs, p. 242.

the sons of Abū Yūsuf decided to ally themselves with Castile to invade Granada. Alfonso X, who was delighted with such a prospect sent his ambassadors to Fēz to seek Abū Yūsuf's agreement to the proposed alliance. Abū Yūsuf apparently rejected his sons' proposals, and even refused to meet the ambassadors.⁽¹⁾ Instead, he sent a message to all African tribes to prepare for jihād (i.e. holy war). He then led a large army and entered the Iberian peninsula. He ravaged many Christian territories and sent out letters to Ibn al-Aḥmar requesting him to put an end to his quarrels with the Marīnids, but Ibn al-Aḥmar refused to do so.⁽²⁾

In the year 681 / 1282 Abū Yūsuf received a message from Alfonso X seeking his aid against his son Sancho.⁽³⁾

Making use of this opportunity, Abū Yūsuf immediately crossed over to Andalusia. Having been joined by some Granadine forces, Abū Yūsuf met Alfonso X in the fortress of Ṣakhrat 'Abbād to the east of Jerez. They marched together into the Castilian territories, passing by Cordova and

(1) Anīs, p. 242; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 420.

(2) Anīs, p. 243; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 420.

(3) Anīs, p. 224; Mawshiyya, p. 133; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 423; Conde, p. 99; Al-Maqqarī says that it was Sancho who asked for help against his father (Nafh, vol. 5, p. 120; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 61).

Toledo and getting as far as Madrid. Having achieved great victories, Abū Yūsuf returned to Algeciras.⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Aḥmar, became uneasy about the alliance between Alfonso and Abū Yūsuf. He allied himself with Sancho. He was, afterwards, compelled to make peace with Abū Yūsuf and his son Abū Ya'qūb and to ask for their help in 682 / 1283. ⁽²⁾ Abū Yūsuf did not hesitate in sending his troops into Andalusia in response to Ibn al-Aḥmar's request. After having marched as far north as Toledo, Cordova, Talavera and Ubeda, they returned to Algeciras and then departed to Morocco.⁽³⁾

In 683 / 1284, Alfonso X died, and was succeeded by his son Sancho IV. Exploiting this events, Abū Yūsuf led a seemingly strong and large African army and invaded several Castilian cities. He was then joined by a new army from Granada, and another from Morocco under the leadership of his sons. They attacked Seville, Rute, Carmona, and other cities on the banks of the Guadalquivir. He then besieged Jerez for fifty days. This forced Sancho IV to seek a truce which was concluded after a meeting between Sancho

(1) Anīs, p. 245; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 424.

(2) Nuzha, p. 118; Anīs, p. 245; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 425; Conde, p. 184.

(3) Anīs, p. 246.

IV and Abū Yūsuf. (1)*

Abū Yūsuf then returned to Algeciras, where he died in the year 685/1286. He was succeeded by his son Abū Ya'qūb (685-707/1286-1307). (2)

Having ascended to the throne of Morocco, Abū Ya'qūb met Ibn al-Aḥmar and gave back to him all the African bases in Andalusia, except Algeciras, Tarifa, and Ronda. He also renewed the peace with Sancho IV. (3)

A few years later, Sancho IV broke the peace with Abū Ya'qūb, who, consequently, called his people to a jihād, crossed the Straits and met the Christian navy in a fierce

(1) For details and for the terms of this treaty see: Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 427-434; Anīs, pp. 247-265; Mawshiyya, p. 133; Subh, vol. 5, p. 197; Conde, p. 99; O'callaghan, p. 392. O'callaghan says that Sancho IV asked for peace with the Marinids, because he was anxious about a possible French invasion of Aragon (p. 392).

* Abū Yūsuf, according to some sources, asked Sancho IV to send him all the Islamic books which were in the possession of the Spanish Jews and Christians. Sancho IV sent to Abū Yūsuf thirteen loads of those books, including copies of the Quran and some Quranic commentaries. (Anīs, p. 264; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 434).

(2) Anīs, p. 274; Rawda, p. 18; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 435; Marqūma, vol. 2, p. 234; Mawshiyya, p. 133; Subh, vol. 5, p. 197; Istiqsa', vol. 3, p. 65; Mu'nis, p. 138; Sundusiyya, p. 1856.

(3) Anīs, p. 276; Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 194 & 436; Subh, vol. 5, p. 197. One of these bases given back to Ibn al-Aḥmar was Guadix, whose governor Abū Ishāq Ibn Ashqilūla died in 687/1289, and his son Abū al-Hasan transferred its possession to Ibn al-Aḥmar, Anīs, p. 278; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 440.

battle in which he was defeated. Shortly afterwards, he crossed the Straits again and succeeded this time in destroying the Christian navy on his way and attacking Seville and Jerez in 690/1292.⁽¹⁾

At this time, Ibn al-Aḥmar's fears of the Marīnids had reached a climax,⁽²⁾ and as a result he renewed the payment of tribute to Sancho IV as a sign of vassalage, and decided with him to invade Tarifa to prevent any further Marīnid invasion. Ibn al-Aḥmar pledged to grant Sancho IV six fortresses and to supply the campaign with all the necessary provisions on the condition that he would retain Tarifa after its surrender. The city surrendered in 691 / 1292 . This event, however, left the Granadines quite unhappy. They wrote many poems expressing their sorrow, especially since Sancho IV, after receiving the six fortresses promised by Ibn al-Aḥmar, renounced his promise and kept Tarifa for himself.⁽³⁾ This development compelled Ibn al-Aḥmar to send his ambassadors and poets to Fez to seek the Marīnids' forgiveness and their help. In 692 / 1294 Ibn al - Aḥmar

(1) For details see: Anīs, p. 279; ‘Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 445 - 446; maushiyya, p. 133; Istiḡsā’, vol. 3, p. 70.

(2) Many factors contributed to these fears, like Sancho's warnings to Ibn al-Aḥmar about the Marīnids' intentions, the rapprochement between Banū Marīn and Banū Ashqilūla, who were given high positions in Fez, and the success of the Marīnid invasions (‘Ibar, vol. 4, p. 370).

(3) Anīs, p. 279; A‘māl, vol. 2, p. 334; ‘Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 445-448; Istiḡsā’, vol. 3, p. 70; Reconquest, p. 165.

travelled to Morocco, where he met Abū Ya‘qūb and apologized to him. Abū Ya‘qūb accepted his apology, and in return granted him Algeciras, Ronda and other fortresses, and sent African troops to help recapture Tarifa; but their attempt was repulsed, and they returned empty-handed.⁽¹⁾

After the death of Sancho IV in 693/1295 and the succession to the throne of his son Ferdinand IV (1295 - 1312), whose reign witnessed at its very beginning a bad civil war in Castile,⁽²⁾ Ibn al-Aḥmar allied himself with Jaime II of Aragon,⁽³⁾ attacked the Castilian territories and captured Quesada (Arabic: Qījāṭa) in 694/1295 Alcaudete⁽⁴⁾ (Arabic: Alqubdhāq) in 699/1300 and Bedmar and Arjona in 700/1302.⁽⁵⁾

In the year 701 (1302) Muḥammad II Ibn al-Aḥmar died,

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- (1) Anīs, pp. 280-282; A‘māl, vol. 2, p. 336; ‘Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 448-449; Istiḡṣā’, vol. 3, pp. 74 & 75.
(2) Anīs, p. 283; ‘Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 454 & 518.
(3) See the details of the truces concluded between Muḥammad II and Jaime II in: Los Documentos, pp. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7 & 8.
(4) Ibn al-Khatīb reports that Alcaudete was a most inaccessible fort and that it was next to a miracle to have it captured. Ibn al-Aḥmar started repairing it in person, whilst his poet Ibn al-Jayyāb recited a long poem congratulating him for his success in capturing it. (Iḥāta, vol. 1, pp. 561-566). In 1312 however the Christians recaptured it.
(5) See: Lamha, p. 54; Durar, vol. 5, p. 10; Iḥāta, vol. 1, p. 561.

and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad III.⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad III seems to have been a poet of some renown, and Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb professes to have seen a poetic collection, (dīwān)⁽²⁾ by him. Muḥammad III was aided in the administration of the state by his minister, Ibn al-Ḥakīm, and his court is reputed to have been full of exceptionally talented men of science and literature.⁽³⁾ He conquered Ceuta in 705/1306⁽⁴⁾ with the help of 'Uthmān Ibn Abu al-'Ulā the commander of the African volunteers in Granada. But he seems to have been a rough tyrant, who oppressed his people,⁽⁵⁾ and they dethroned him after killing his minister Ibn al-Ḥakīm in 708 / 1309 ,⁽⁶⁾ and invited his half-brother Abū al-Juyūsh Naṣr, a son of a captive Christian lady named Shams al-Duḥā,⁽⁷⁾ to be their king. Muḥammad III was exiled to the city of Almuñecar , and Naṣr ascended the throne of Granada. He later killed his deposed brother, by drowning him in 710/1311.⁽⁸⁾ Naṣr was a lover of peace, but his reign seems to have been, as Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes it, an ill -

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- (1) Anīs, p. 184; Lamḥa, p. 58; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 472; Subh, vol. 5, p. 261; Inscripciones, p. 209.
 (2) Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 545; Lamḥa, p. 61.
 (3) Nathir Farā'id, p. 240; Lamḥa, pp. 60-65; 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 372; Durra, vol. 2, pp. 90 & 127; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, pp. 545; Nuzha, p. 119.
 (4) Jadhwa, p. 243; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 551; Lamḥa, p. 66, Nuzha, p. 120, 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 473.
 (5) Lamḥa, p. 66; Amāl, vol. 2, p. 337; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, pp. 551 & 547.
 (6) Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 551; Lamḥa, p. 67; Durar, vol. 4, p. 352; Nuzha, p. 121, 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 372.
 (7) Nuzha, p. 122; McCabe, p. 255.
 (8) Lamḥa, p. 67; Durar, vol. 4, p. 352; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 552; Wāfī, vol. 1, p. 207; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 472.

starred one.⁽¹⁾

In the year 709 / 1309, the Castilians attacked Algeciras and Gibraltar, while the Aragonese besieged Almeria by land and sea. The Castilians captured Gibraltar and besieged Algeciras, and when Naṣr renewed his homage and fealty to Castile and accepted to pay an annual tribute and to surrender several castles, they raised the siege. On the other hand the Aragonese attempt to capture Almeria had failed and had caused them great losses after six months of siege.⁽²⁾

At the same time, Abū al-Rabi', king of Morocco recaptured Ceuta from the Naṣrids, and Naṣr granted him Algeciras and Ronda.⁽³⁾ In 712/1312 Ferdinand IV seized Alcaudete, but he died three days before the complete surrender of the fortress, and his death was concealed until its final capture with the help of Ibn al-Ḥājj, the minister of Naṣr.⁽⁴⁾

Ferdinand IV was succeeded by his son Alfonso XI

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- (1) Ihāta, MS, fol. 59; Lamha, p. 70; Nuzha, p. 123.
(2) Lamha, p. 75; Ihāta, MS, fol. 61; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 518; Durra, vol. 1, pp. 138-148; O'callaghan, p. 402.
(3) Anis, p. 289; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 499.
(4) Nuzha, p. 125; Ihāta, MS, fol. 60; Lamha, p. 75.

(1312-1350) who was a minor, and prince Pedro and prince Juan ruled for a while as joint regents.⁽¹⁾ In Morocco Abū Saʿīd ʿUthmān ascended the throne in 710/1311 and prepared for a new invasion of Andalusia.⁽²⁾ ʿUthmān Ibn Abū al-ʿUlā, the head of the African volunteers in Granada who had invaded Ceuta in 705/1306, became anxious about the alliance between Granada and Morocco and fled to Malaga where he joined the rebellion of Abū Saʿīd Faraj Ibn al-Ahmar.⁽³⁾ The people of Granada and other cities, who charged Naṣr and his minister Ibn al-Ḥājj with treachery and collaboration with the enemy,⁽⁴⁾ revolted against their king. Ismāʿīl Ibn Faraj, with the help of ʿUthmān Ibn Abū Al-ʿUlā, invaded Granada and banished Naṣr to Guadix, where he lived until his death in 722/1322., and his minister, so odious to the people, was driven to Africa.⁽⁵⁾ With the accession of Ismāʿīl in 713 / 1314, the power of Banū Naṣr was transferred to another branch of this family, since Ismāʿīl was the nephew of Naṣr, his predecessor, and the grandson of Ismāʿīl, a brother of the founder of the Naṣrid dynasty.⁽⁶⁾

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- (1) ʿIbar, vol. 7, p. 519.
 (2) Anīs, p. 290; Lamha, p. 72; Durar, vol. 3, p. 67; ʿIbar, vol. 7, p. 502; Jadhwa p. 288; Conde, p. 102.
 (3) Nuzha, p. 123: Abū Saʿīd Faraj Ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Yūsuf al-Ahmar. (see: Nathir p. 19).
 (4) Lamha, p. 75; Ihāṭa, MS, fol. 61; Nuzha, p. 127.
 (5) Ihāṭa, vol. 1, pp. 384-387; vol. 2, pp. 140-141 & MS, fol. 61; Lamha, p. 75; Nuzha, 125; ʿIbar, vol. 4, p. 372; Durar, vol. 1, p. 401; Ṣubh, vol. 5, p. 261.
 (6) See the text of Ismāʿīl's allegiance in: Nuzha, p. 125. See also: Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 381; Durra, vol. 1, p. 213; Durar, vol. 1, p. 401.

Ismā'īl, who was a poet, was aided by his court writer Ibn al-Jayyāb.⁽¹⁾ His first concern was the threat presented by his deposed uncle, Naṣr, who urged Alfonso XI's regents to invade Granada. The two regents launched a joint attack and defeated the Granadine army at Wādī Fartūn^(*) in 716/1317. Many scholars and writers were killed in the course of the fighting, and many surrounding fortresses were besieged and taken.⁽²⁾ Unduly encouraged by their victory, Naṣr and the regents of Castile aspired to capture Granada. Don Pedro, Don Juan, and a great number of Christian nobles led a large army and fell upon the fertile Vega of Granada, whose terror-stricken people, sent urgent appeals for help to the king of Fez, who demanded the extradition of 'Uthmān Ibn Abū al-'Ulā in return for his assistance. The Granadine ambassadors, who refused this demand, hastened back to Granada only to find that 'Uthmān Ibn Abū al-'Ulā had routed the Castilians and killed a number of their nobles including Pedro and Juan in the plain of Granada in 718 / 1318.⁽³⁾ After his victory over

(1) Lamha, p. 79; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 380; Nathīr, p. 81.

(2) Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 387 & 388; Lamha, p. 84; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 339.

(3) For details see: Lamha, p. 85; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 437 & vol. 1, p. 389; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 340; Nuzha, p. 129; Nathīr Farā'id, p. 330; Katība, p. 176; Masalik/Andalus, p. 43; Durar, vol. 3, p. 50 & vol. 1, p. 401; 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 373 & vol. 7, p. 519; Subh, vol. 5, pp. 198 & 272; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 449 & vol. 4, p. 510; Istiqsā', vol. 3, p. 108; Scott, p. 454; Murphy, p. 140; Reconquest p. 166. This victory was a subject of many poems, letters and works, see: Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 389, vol. 2, p. 433 & MS, fol. 3; Katība p. 176; Nuzha pp. 129-130; Durra, vol. 2, p. 71; Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 450-451; Ibn al-Jayyab, pp. 158-160.

(*) Sp. Guadalhortuna

the Castilians, and after the death of Nasr at the same time in Guadix, Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj attacked the Christian frontiers using al-anfāt,⁽¹⁾ and captured Huescar (Arabic: Ushkar) in 724 / 1324 and Martos (Arabic: Mārtūsh) in 725 / 1325.⁽²⁾

Three days after his return from this campaign, Ismā'īl was assassinated by a son of his uncle in 725 / 1325,⁽³⁾ and was succeeded by his nine-year-old son, Muḥammad IV, whose regent, Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ash'arī, surnamed Ibn al-Maḥrūq, acted as king,⁽⁴⁾ and caused a considerable amount of tension as a result of his enmity with 'Uthmān Ibn Abū al-'Ulā. When Muḥammad IV came of age, he killed his minister,⁽⁵⁾ and brought these problems under control.⁽⁶⁾ He then turned his attention to a brief campaign

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- (1) This is described by Ibn al-Khatīb as a hot iron missile which has the sound of thunder, and destroys everything in its way. It is considered by Lomax as the first use of gunpowder and cannon in European warfare. (Reconquest, p. 166), Lamha, p. 85; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 390.
- (2) Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 390-391; Lamha, pp. 85 & 86; A'māl vol. 2, p. 340; Katība, p. 77; Nuzha, p. 130; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 492; Scott, pp. 456-457; McCabe, p. 257. These references also produce a number of poems concerning this event.
- (3) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 392; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 340; Lamha, pp. 87-88, Nuzha, p. 131; 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 373; Durar, vol. 1, p. 402; Inscripciones, p. 63.
- (4) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 532 & vol. 2, p. 136; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 341; Durar, vol. 4, p. 9; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 530.
- (5) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 535 & vol. 2, p. 137; Lamha, p. 93; Durar, vol. 3, p. 50; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 530.
- (6) Lamha, p. 93; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 535; A'māl, vol. 2, pp. 341-343.
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in which he captured a number of fortresses and towns beyond the Granadine frontiers, using al-anfāt.⁽¹⁾

In the year 726/1326 Alfonso XI, with the help of Aragon and Portugal, captured many Muslim towns and tried to close the Straits, but was on the whole repulsed by the Granadine armies led by Abū al-Naʿīm Ridwān, a leader of Christian descent.⁽²⁾ Still afraid of Alfonso XI's attacks, Muḥammad IV travelled to Morocco to seek the help of its king, Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAlī.⁽³⁾ Abu al-Ḥasan despatched his son Abu Mālik at the head of an African force to Andalusia, where he was joined by the Granadine army under the leadership of Abū al-Naʿīm Ridwān. They attacked Gibraltar⁽⁴⁾ and captured it in 733 / 1333, and Muḥammad IV marched into the Castilian camp in person to persuade Alfonso XI to surrender it.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) He captured the fortresses of Priego de Córdoba, Cabra, Baena, Castro and Lorca. Many odes were written concerning these victories, see: Ihāṭa, vol. 1, pp. 509, 533 & 535; Lamḥa, pp. 91-92; Nuzḥa, p. 132; Durar, vol. 4, p. 10; Scott, p. 462.
- (2) ʿIbar, vol. 7, p. 530; Durar, vol. 1, p. 106; Nuzḥa, p. 132; O'callaghan, p. 409.
- (3) Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn ʿUthmān Al-Marīnī, succeeded his father in 731/1331 (Subḥ, vol. 5, p. 195; ʿIbar, vol. 7, p. 525; Istiqsāʾ, vol. 3, p. 118; Conde, p. 102.)
- (4) Gibraltar was captured by Ferdinand IV of Castile in 709 A.H/1309 A.D.
- (5) Nuzḥa, pp. 132-133; Lamḥa, p. 93; Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 530; Aʿmāl, vol. 2, p. 343; Baṭṭuṭa, p. 665; Dīwān Lisān, p. 326; ʿIbar, vol. 7, pp. 530-531; Jadhwa, p. 46. It is said that Alfonso XI surrendered Gibraltar because he was occupied with internal troubles in Castile as well as difficulties with his other neighbours (O'callaghan, p. 409; Spain, p. 180).

Shortly after this event, Muḥammad IV was assassinated by Banū al-ʿUlā, who became worried about the new rapprochement between Granada and Fez. Many Andalusian jurists (fuqahāʾ) took part in this conspiracy. After this seemingly abominable crime,⁽¹⁾ those who had planned it installed Abu al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf I Ibn Ismāʿīl as king of Granada. He was Muḥammad IV's brother, but from a different mother, a captive lady by the name of Bahār.⁽²⁾ Yūsuf I began his reign with the expulsion of his brother's assassins,⁽³⁾ and by making peace with Castile and Aragon. Ibn al-Khaṭīb reports that this was the first time during the reign of Banū Naṣr that peace was concluded without the condition of a payment of tribute to Castile.⁽⁴⁾ Most of the affairs of the state were managed by Yūsuf I's chamberlain, Abū al-Naʿīm Ridwān, his court writer Ibn al-Jayyāb, and by Ibn al-Khaṭīb who often deputised for Yūsuf I during his absence.⁽⁵⁾ Yūsuf I was on good terms with Morocco, Aragon and Castile.⁽⁶⁾ But the peace did not last long, as in 740 / 1339 a

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- (1) Many elegies were recited at Muhammad IV's funeral (see: Aʿmāl, vol. 2, pp. 344 & 348; Lamḥa, pp. 98-102).
(2) Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 540; Aʿmāl, vol. 2, p. 344; Nuzḥa, pp. 132-133; ʿIbar, vol. 4, p. 374; Durar, vol. 4, p. 10; Istiqsāʾ, vol. 3, p. 123.
(3) ʿIbar, vol. 4, p. 374; Istiqsāʾ, vol. 3, p. 123.
(4) Lamḥa, p. 109; Los Documentos, pp. 63, 68 & 69; Diwān Lisān, p. 620; Nafḥ, vol. 5, p. 80.
(5) Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, pp. 507-513 & MS, fol. 152; Aʿmāl, vol. 2, p. 350; Durar, vol. 5, p. 227.
(6) Diwān Lisān, p. 231; Los Documentos, pp. 61-62, 87, 101, 429, 405 & 533.

sea battle was fought in the Straits in which Alfonso XI's navy was defeated.⁽¹⁾ in the same year Yūsuf I seized several Castilian fortresses such as Karkabūl (Carcabuey) and Shawdhar.⁽²⁾ When Abu al-Ḥasan, king of Morocco, received the tidings of these events, he sent his son Abū Mālīk at the head of an African army to Andalusia to help the Granadines, but Abū Mālīk was defeated and killed by the Castilians.⁽³⁾ To avenge the death of his son, Abu al-Ḥasan led his armies in person with the aim of capturing the entire Peninsula. When he approached the Straits he was met by the united naval forces of Castile, Aragon and Portugal. He succeeded in defeating this joint naval force and destroying most of the Christian ships.⁽⁴⁾ In the year 741/1340-1341, he entered Andalusia with a large number of his troops, mercenaries, volunteers, and tribesmen with their families and valuables. The Granadine army joined him under the command of Yūsuf I. They laid siege to Tarifa using, as Conde and Scott say,⁽⁵⁾ pieces of crude artillery transported from Ceuta. Aragon and Portugal sent their forces to aid Alfonso XI. The clergy,

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- (1) Dīwān Lisān, pp. 581 & 584; Iḥāta, MS, fol. 97; Katība, p. 198; Durar, vol. 4, p. 295.
 (2) Dīwān Lisān, pp. 244 & 363; Nathīr, p. 168. (Sp. Jódar)
 (3) ‘Ibar, vol. 7, p. 542; Istiqsā’, vol. 3, p. 135.
 (4) Lamha, p. 105; Iḥāta, MS, fol. 153; ‘Ibar, vol. 7, p. 543; Scott, p. 470; Read, p. 194.
 (5) Conde, p. 254; Scott, p. 473.

blessed by the Pope,* inflamed the zeal of the Christians. A series of battles took place on the banks of the Salado River outside Tarifa, where the Muslim armies were badly routed when a Christian force surprised the camp of Abu al-Ḥasan and took it by storm. Abu al-Ḥasan only just managed to escape to Africa leaving his harem, sons and many members of his royal family in the hands of the Christians.⁽¹⁾ Henceforth, the help of the Marīnids was reduced to presents, arms, and some volunteers. A peace treaty, meant to last for ten years, was then concluded with Abu al-Ḥasan, and Yūsuf I, who resumed the payment of tribute to Castile.⁽¹⁾

In spite of the peace, raiding forays from both sides continued on the frontiers between Granada and Castile and ended with the fall of some Castilian strongholds into the hands of the Granadines in 743 / 1343.⁽²⁾ After these skirmishes, and with volunteers from all over Europe,⁽³⁾

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- (*) The Pope at the time was Benedict XII (see: A History of the Papacy, by M. Creighton, p. 42, London, 1882).
- (1) Lamha, p. 105; Maḡuma p. 238; Aḡmāl, vol. 2, p. 350; Ihāta, MS, fol. 153; Nuzha, p. 134; Ibar, vol. 4, p. 374 & vol. 7, p. 544; Durār, vol. 5, p. 227; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 14 & vol. 4, p. 403; Conde, p. 255; McCabe, p. 260; Scott, p. 473; Spain, p. 182; O'callaghan, p. 411, This battle was also a subject of many poems and letters: Diwān Lisān, p. 248, 408, 569 & 624; Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 358-360.
- (2) Yūsuf I captured the fortresses of Banū al-Bashīr and Estepa near Malaga where his court writer Ibn al - Khaṭīb recited a congratulatory poem (Diwān Lisān, p. 565; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 528; Durra, vol. 2, p. 121).
- (3) Reconquest, p. 157.

Alfonso captured the stronghold of Alcalá la Real and laid siege to Algeciras. The siege lasted about two years, during which time Yūsuf I made many attempts to raise it, but in vain. Finally the people of Algeciras were starved into surrender, and a truce for ten years was concluded between Granada and Castile.⁽¹⁾

Unable to send any relief to Algeciras, Abu al-Ḥasan 'Alī sent a message in 745/1344 to the king of Egypt asking for his help. The messengers returned to Morocco with little more than a long reply full of greetings, prayers and apologies.⁽²⁾ Making use of the peace, Yūsuf I employed himself in the service of his people. He thus established the school of Granada,* built watch towers and

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- (1) Lamha, p. 110; Ihāta, MS, fol. 154; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 531; Nuzha, p. 134; 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 374 & vol. 7, p. 546; Ma'āthir, vol. 2, p. 154; Durra, vol. 2, pp. 87 & 122; Badā'i', vol. 2, p. 587; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 403-404; Conde, p. 258; Scott, p. 483; Spain, p. 184.
- (2) See these letters in: Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 386-400; Istiqsā', vol. 3, pp. 140-151; Subh, vol. 8, p. 87.
- (*) This school was founded during the reign of King Yūsuf I, and by the assistance and under the supervision of the king's chamberlain Abu al-Na'im Ridwān in 750/1349. It is understood from the poems of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn al-Jayyāb inscribed on the walls and doors of the school that its construction was intended to save the Granadine students the trouble of long journeys to Africa and the East searching for knowledge. This school included many rooms, and a special ward for the accomodation of students and teachers. It included also a mosque, and a library. The most distinguished learned men from Granada and Africa were chosen to lecture in it. The curriculum comprised theology, jurisprudence, medicine, chemistry, philosophy, astronomy and other subjects. =

fortresses, and added new parts to the Alhambra palace.⁽¹⁾

But the peace was again violated, when Alfonso XI, with a tremendous army, laid siege to Gibraltar in 750/1349 not only to draw nearer to Granada but also with the intention of invading Africa.⁽²⁾ The siege had been going on for one year when Andalusia was struck by the plague to which Alfonso XI himself fell victim in 751/1350. This impeded the Castilian attempt to capture Gibraltar.⁽³⁾

Alfonso XI was then succeeded by his son Pedro the Cruel,⁽⁴⁾ who, being preoccupied with quelling the opposition

= Granadine and modern historians describe this school as the greatest educational institution ever constructed in Muslim Andalusia. There is only one hall of that school left where it stood to the north of the grand mosque of Granada and opposite the royal cemetery. (For details see: Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 392, 457 & 511, vol. 6, p. 482 & vol. 7, p. 103; Lamha, p. 109, Estudio, p. 205; Rihlat al-Qalasādi, p. 165-168; Barnāmaj al-Majāri, pp. 119 & 18; Monroe, p. 62; Hitti, p. 563; McCabe, p. 255; Murphy, p. 214; Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 508-509 & MS, fol. 145 & 159; Katiba, p. 96. See also: Al-Āthār al-Andalusiyya al-Bāqiya fī Isbāniya wal-Bortughāl p.172-Muhammad A. Inān-Cairo - 1961).

(1) McCabe, p. 126; Murphy, p. 193; Estudio, pp. 3 & 205; Conde, p. 261; Diwān Lisān, p. 398; Lamha, p. 109.

(2) O'callaghan, p. 413.

(3) Lamha, p. 108; Nuzha, p. 134; Battūta, p. 665; Ihāta, MS, fol. 110; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 679; Badā'i', vol. 2, p. 87; Conde, p. 270; Remiro, pp. 164 & 175, Scott, p. 483. This event was the subject of many letters and poems in Granada see: Lamha, p. 108; Diwān Lisān, pp. 412 & 285; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 442; Subh, vol. 7, pp. 40 & 66; Remiro, pp. 135 & 219.

(4) Marqaba, pp. 155-156.

he met from his nobles and brothers, made peace with Yūsuf I and sought his help against⁽¹⁾ one of his brothers who was supported by Portugal. Fishing in troubled waters, Yūsuf I attacked and captured a number of fortresses.⁽²⁾

In the year 755/1354 and during the prayers of ‘Īd al-Fitr Yūsuf I was assassinated, reportedly by a madman.⁽³⁾ Yūsuf I had three sons: Muḥammad, the son of his captive wife Buthaina, and Ismā‘īl and Qais from his captive wife Mariam.⁽⁴⁾ His son Muḥammad succeeded him as Muḥammad V and assumed the title of Al-Ghanī Billāh. He confirmed the peace with Castile.⁽⁵⁾

Muḥammad V filled his court with a considerable number of talented writers, and as he ascended the throne he reaffirmed the peace with the Spaniards as already mentioned, and proceeded to improve on his palaces and build schools,

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- (1) ‘Ibar, vol. 7, p. 679. These troubles were the subject of letters exchanged between Granada and Fez: See: Kunāsa, pp. 64 & 94.
- (2) This information is taken from the letters written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the minister of Granada, to Abū ‘Inān king of Morocco in 751/1352. (Kunāsa, p. 94; Remiro, p. 211).
- (3) Lamha, p. 110; A‘māl, vol. 2, p. 352; Diwān Lisān, p. 531; Nuzha, p. 134; ‘Ibar, vol. 4, p. 375 & vol. 7, p. 632; Durar, vol. 5, p. 227; Durra, vol. 3, p. 351; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 424-426 & vol. 5, p. 81; Conde, p. 272; Inscripciones, p. 63.
- (4) Nuzha, p. 134; Inscripciones, p. 63.
- (5) See his letter to Abū ‘Inān (Nafh, vol. 4, p. 427), see also: Lamha, p. 113, his allegiance in Subh, vol. 9, p. 337, and for his accession, see the poem of Ibn al-Khaṭīb in: Diwān Lisān, p. 435; his letter to Abū ‘Inān in: Remiro, p. 361. See also: Nathīr, p. 77; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 14; A‘māl, vol. 2, p. 351; ‘Ibar, vol. 4, p. 375 & vol. 7, p. 690.

hospitals and monasteries.⁽¹⁾ The first discord he encountered was the rebellion in Gibraltar led by its governor 'Īsā Ibn Mandīl which was quickly suppressed.⁽²⁾

The peace did not last long, since in 760/1358 Ismā'īl, Muḥammad V's half brother, incited by his mother and his cousin, dethroned Muḥammad V and killed his chamberlain Abū al-Na'īm Riḍwān.⁽³⁾ Muḥammad V, escaped to Guadix, and thence to Fez where he took refuge and where he, his secretary Ibn al-Khaṭīb and other companions were received generously by Abū Sālim king of Morocco. In 761/1359 Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad, nicknamed El-Bermejo, cousin and regent of Ismā'īl, killed the king and his brother Qais, and seized the throne of Granada.

Muḥammad V taking advantage of the disorder in Granada prepared to return and regain the throne. In 763/1361 he succeeded, with the help of Pedro, the Castilian king, Abū Sālim and a number of Granadine subjects, in recapturing the throne from Abū Sa'īd who took refuge in Castile, where, according to many sources, he was beheaded and his head,

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- (1) Dīwān Lisān, p. 543; Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 14, 15, 19, 50 & 51; Lamha, p. 113; 'Ibār, vol. 7, p. 690; Istiqṣā', vol. 3, p. 192; Estudio, p. 144; Inscripciones, p. 172; Monroe, p. 62. Monasteries is used here as a translation of zāwiya & ribāṭ.
(2) Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 21-23; Battuta, pp. 666-667; 'Ibār, vol. 7, p. 612; Nathīr, pp. 336-340.
(3) See: Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 15.

together with those of his companions, sent to Muḥammad V.⁽¹⁾

After his return Muḥammad V eliminated the office of wazīr, transferred the office of shaikh al-ghuzāt, who was responsible for leading the African volunteers, from the Moroccans to the members of his family, and began to reorganise the military and civil affairs of Granada, depending wholly on his secretary Ibn al-Khaṭīb who had returned to Granada with him.⁽²⁾ Meanwhile, the people of Granada were enjoying a long spell of peace, which was occasionally interrupted by the rebellions of some members of the royal family. But these were disturbances which were easily put down.⁽³⁾

This relatively long period of peace was attributed to the civil war in Castile between Pedro and his brother Henry II. The troubles were further compounded when Pedro obtained the aid of England, Granada and the Jews, while

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- (1) Lamḥa, pp. 114-130; A'māl, vol. 2, pp. 352-361; Iḥāta, vol. 1, pp. 398-404, pp. 523-532 & vol. 2, pp. 26-29; Nufaḍa, pp. 81, 103, 279, 285 & 299; Diwān Lisān, pp. 359 & 457; Remiro, p. 252; Los Documentos, p. 143; Qarā'in, p. 44; Nathīr, p. 85; Durar, vol. 4, p. 10; Subh, vol. 5, p. 263; Ibar, vol. 4, pp. 375-376 & vol. 7, pp. 637-638; Istiḳṣā', vol. 4, p. 9; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 37, 272 & 274; Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 84, 90 & 95, vol. 6, pp. 333 & 478; Conde, p. 275; Scott, pp. 275 & 489; Le Bon, p. 280.
- (2) Iḥāta, vol. 2, p. 31; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 361; Lamḥa, p. 130; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 694; Istiḳṣā', vol. 4, p. 81.
- (3) Iḥāta, vol. 2, pp. 33 & 65; Conde, p. 288.

Henry II was aided by the Pope, France, Aragon and Portugal.⁽¹⁾

Muhammad V never lost sight of the fact that this civil war, as well as the peace between Granada and Castile were one day to come to an end, and thus he addressed his subjects on many occasions advising them not to give themselves up to a life of luxury and to acquaint themselves with the use of all kinds of arms.⁽²⁾

When Pedro requested Muhammad V's aid, in 767/1365, the Granadine ruler consulted his jurists who eagerly suggested that he should agree, in order to inflame the trouble in Castile by keeping Pedro's resistance strong and alive.⁽³⁾ Muhammad V led a Granadine force to Cordova where it was joined by Pedro. They laid siege to Cordova and attacked its walls several times, but they were unable to capture the city, because of the continuous heavy rain and the shortage of provisions.⁽⁴⁾ Muhammad V fell back to Granada capturing

(1) For details see: Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 42-48; A'māl, vol. 4, p. 377 & vol. 7, p. 679; Subh, vol. 5, p. 263; a poem of Ibn Zamrak in Nafh, vol. 7, p. 173; Conde, p. 289; O'callaghan, p. 514; Spain, p. 212; Isabella of Spain, p. 262; Reconquest, p. 168.

(2) See his addresses to his people in: Remiro, p. 368; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 379.

(3) Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 84 & 85.

(4) H.E. Watts suggests that the enterprise failed through lack of confidence in each other on the part of the allies (Spain, p. 213) see also a message from Muhammad V to 'Abd al-'Azīz king of Morocco (Remiro, pp. 305 - 313).

several fortresses on his way. Realizing the weakness of the frontiers of Castile, Muhammad V in 767/1365 seized the forts of Andujar, Paterna, La Sahla, Burgo, Iznájar Jabal Alshuwār and others, using al-anfāt which were apparently transported on wheels.⁽¹⁾

In the following year 768/1366. Muhammad V fell upon Seville and captured Utrera.⁽²⁾ In 769/1367 he invaded Jaen, Ubeda and Priego, but became concerned about the news of Pedro's death and the accession of his killer, Henry II, in 77/1369.⁽³⁾ In the meantime, the Pope* had got together a large army from France, Castile and other Christian countries in an attempt to capture Granada, a matter which filled the hearts of the Granadines with horror, and caused them to send appeals for help to many Muslim countries such

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- (1) See the message sent from Muhammad V to the king of Morocco: Remiro, p. 270. See also: Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 51-79; Conde, p. 290. For the literary reactions to these invasions see: Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 78-82; Remiro, p. 270 & pp. 305-313; Qarā'in, p. 49; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 139; Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 178, 190, 191, 229 & 389.
- (2) For details and literary reactions see: Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 82; Qarā'in, p. 12; Remiro, pp. 277 & 284; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 339.
- (3) For details and literary reactions see: Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 83-84; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 387; Remiro, pp. 287 & 295; Ta'rīf, p. 916; Subh, vol. 8, p. 107; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 321.
- (*) The concerned Pope is probably Urban V who was appointed pope between the years 1362-1370. (A History of the Papacy by: M. Creighton, vol. 1, pp. 48-51, London, Longmans, 1882). This Pope is said however to have supported Henry against his brother king Pedro (Spain, p. 210).

as Morocco, Tunisia, Tlemcen, Egypt, and Arabia.⁽¹⁾ But internal dissensions broke out again in Castile and between Castile and Portugal which impeded the Papal enterprise.⁽²⁾ Muḥammad V taking advantage of the new quarrels in Castile captured the fortresses of Montiel, Al-Huwayz, Rute, Zamra, Burj al-Ḥakīm and Al-Qashtūr.⁽³⁾

Muḥammad V then aspired to recapture Algeciras which was lost in 743/1342. He called upon his people to take part in this enterprise. He also sought the help of King 'Abd al-'Azīz of Morocco, who was, however, preoccupied with domestic quarrels concerning the throne. Muḥammad V besieged Algeciras in 770/1368 for a few days after which he wrested it from the Castilian garrison. He then destroyed it in order that it might not be taken by the Castilians again.⁽⁴⁾ In 771/1369 he attacked the surroundings of Seville, and captured Osuna (Arabic: Ushūna) and Marchena (Arabic : Murshāna).⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) For the various messages dispatched for this purpose see: Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 47, 53 & 86; Remiro, pp. 287, 386 & 382; Subh, vol. 8, p. 107; Bughyat al-Ruwwād, vol. 2, p. 166; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 321 & vol. 4, p. 444.
- (2) Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 86-87.
- (3) See the message sent from Muḥammad V to the king of Tunisia in Remiro, p. 318, see also: Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 87.
- (4) Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 87-88; 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 680; Istiḳṣā', vol. 4, p. 56.
- (5) Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 90-91.

The story of those victories gained by Muḥammad V during the period (767-771 /1365-1369), can in fact be culled from the messages exchanged between Granada and the many Muslim countries whose help was sought at the time.⁽¹⁾

In 772/1370 Muḥammad V withheld the payment of tribute to Castile, a policy which was pursued throughout the rest of his lifetime and for many years after his reign.⁽²⁾

In 773/1371 Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the secretary of Muḥammad V, and the prime minister of Granada, fled to Morocco to avoid the intrigues of his rivals. He was generously received by Abū Fāris 'Abd al-'Azīz in Fez.⁽³⁾ In order to secure the return of his secretary, Muḥammad V started to involve himself in the internal Moroccan quarrels. He, therefore, recaptured Gibraltar from the Moroccans and supplied Abu al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Marīnī with soldiers, arms

(1) For these messages and poems concerning these events see: The messages sent to be read on the sepulchre of the Prophet in: Nafh, vol. 1, p. 505, vol. 6, pp. 360 & 379; Remiro, p. 336; the message sent to the king of Tūnis in 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 959; the message sent to Abū Hammū king of Tlemcen: Nafh, vol. 6, p. 507; the message sent to the king of Fez, Nafh, vol. 1, p. 506; the message sent to the prince of Mecca, in which it is mentioned that jihād is of the same degree of importance as Hajj: Subh, vol. 7, p. 47; Remiro, p. 264, and the message sent to the Prince of Medina: Subh, vol. 7, p. 53. For other messages and poems see: Nafh, vol. 7, p. 195, Dīwān Lisān, p. 320; Nathīr Farā'id, pp. 156-288.

(2) 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 378; Subh, vol. 5, p. 263.

(3) 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 696, Istiḳṣā', vol. 4, p. 59.

and money to help him resume the struggle for the throne. Having ascended to the throne of Morocco, the new king Abu al-‘Abbās had Ibn al-Khaṭīb arrested and killed in his prison in 776/1374.⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad V took to supporting the Moroccan kings one against the other by sending his troops or fleet several times to Ceuta, Fez, and even to Tlemcen, a fact which indicates the weakness of Morocco at this time, and shows that it was not in a position to send any help of significance to Granada ever since the Marīnid defeat at Tarifa in 741/1340.⁽²⁾ Furthermore, Ibn Khaldūn reports⁽³⁾ that Morocco seemed at that time to be one of the Andalusian dependencies. On the pretext of keeping order in Morocco, Muḥammad V led his armies into the country in 783/1381, 786/1384, 789/1387, and the poets in their panegyrics, often referred to him at this time as the king of the two shores (‘udwatain).⁽⁴⁾

The prosperity of Granada at that time turned the city itself into a cosmopolitan metropolis frequented by people of all nations, including the Spaniards. This prosperity was due to the peace concluded with Henry II and

(1) ‘Ibar, vol. 4, p. 379 & vol. 7, p. 101; Daw’, vol. 8, p. 62; Istiqṣā’, vol. 4, p. 62.

(2) Nafh, vol. 5, p. 104.

(3) ‘Ibar, vol. 7, p. 729.

(4) Qarā’in, pp. 53 & 54, Mawshiyya, pp. 141-142; Nathīr, p. 72; Subh, vol. 5, p. 205; Ma’āthir, vol. 2, p. 201; ‘Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 729, 730 & 740; Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 172 & 177, vol. 7, pp. 196 & 266. It seems that Muḥammad V, after his victories in Andalusia and Morocco even entertained hopes of invading Rome and Iraq and of regaining the whole of Andalusia. His ambitions are reflected in the works of his writers see: Qarā’in, pp. 31, 55, 57 & 62; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 253; Tuhfa, p. 2.

his successor Juan I, who died in 792/1390 and was succeeded by his son Henry III.⁽¹⁾ In 793/1391 Muhammad V died, and his son Yūsuf II succeeded him.⁽²⁾

With the death of Muhammad V, Granada entered a period of decline. The whole period from his death until the fall of Granada in 1492 was characterised by civil wars. The people of Granada lost all hope of obtaining help from anywhere, which compelled the rulers of the state to maintain peace with Castile as long as possible, and to pay whatever tribute the kings of Castile demanded, and even to set free the Christian captives taken by them without any ransom. Al-Nubāhī says that the peace concluded in 750/1349 was the longest lasting peace in the history of the Andalusian Muslims.⁽³⁾ Realizing the dangers of stability in Castile after the death of Henry II, Muhammad V confirmed the peace with Juan I, maintained good relations with the Castilian knights who came to Granada to enjoy the chivalric sports, and released a number of Castilian captives.⁽⁴⁾

(1) Spain, p. 224; Conde, p. 242.

(2) Ibar, vol. 4, p. 384; Subh, vol. 5, p. 263; Istiḳṣā', vol. 4, p. 81; Inscripciones, p. 63.

(3) Marqaba, p. 156.

(4) Conde, p. 292.

His successor Yūsuf II adopted the same policy, sent letters to Henry III in order to reaffirm the treaties of friendship and alliance concluded with him by his father, released another group of the Christian captives, and maintained the chivalric tournaments and spectacles which the Castilian visitors seemed to enjoy.⁽¹⁾ But Yūsuf II did not live long after assuming power; he died in 794 / 1392,⁽²⁾ and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad VII who was aided in the management of the state by the commander of his troops Muḥammad al-Khaṣāṣī.⁽³⁾

During the reign of Muḥammad VII, a considerable number of disturbances took place along the frontiers. Henry III, as a consequence, collected a large army with the intention of capturing Granada, but he died before he was able to carry out his enterprise. He was succeeded by Juan II (1407-1454) who was still a child in the care of his English mother Catherine and his uncle Ferdinand. Ferdinand attacked Granada by sea. Muḥammad VII sought the help of Tunisia and Tlemcen,⁽⁴⁾ who sent their ships to the Straits, but were defeated and their ships were destroyed

(1) Conde, p. 293; see also a poem of Ibn Zamrak praising Yūsuf II for his love of chivalric tournaments: Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 210-215; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 116-121.

(2) ‘Ibar, vol. 4, p. 384; Istiḳṣā’, vol. 4, p. 81; Ṣubḥ, vol. 5, p. 263; Inscripciones, p. 63; Mohammadan Dynasties, p. 28.

(3) ‘Ibar, vol. 4, p. 384; Ṣubḥ, vol. 5, p. 263; Istiḳṣā’, vol. 4, p. 82.

(4) One may notice that since the death of Yūsuf I in 755 / 1354 onwards the people of Granada tried to rely on Tunisia and Tlemcen for help because of the weakness of Morocco.

before Gibraltar.⁽¹⁾ In revenge, Muḥammad VII raided Jaen and other cities. Mutual raids and skirmishes followed and ended with a truce,⁽²⁾ shortly after which Muḥammad VII died in 810/1408. The people of Granada placed his brother Yūsuf III on the throne.⁽³⁾

As he ascended the throne, Yūsuf III concluded a peace treaty of two years with Juan II of Castile. But when this period was over, the Castilians refused to renew the treaty unless Yūsuf III declared his vassalage to Castile. When he refused, they attacked the town of Antequera and wrested it from the hands of the Muslims after a hard battle in which the Muslims were routed in 813/1410.⁽⁴⁾

Yūsuf III sent a note declaring his allegiance to the king of Tunisia,⁽⁵⁾ while the king of Morocco, Abū Saʿīd al-Marīnī, sent his brother to invade Gibraltar. Yūsuf III captured the brother, and supplied him with all that he needed to go back and dethrone Abū Saʿīd.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Conde, p. 300; Scott, p. 496; Reconquest, p. 168; Spain, pp. 225 & 228; Durra, vol. 3, p. 126.

(2) Conde, pp. 300-301; Scott, pp. 497-498.

(3) Durra, vol. 2, p. 283; Conde, pp. 302-303.

(4) Diwān Yūsuf, p. 89; Nayl, p. 285; Conde, pp. 304 - 305; Scott, p. 499. The distinguished writer of Granada Abū Yahyā Ibn ʿĀṣim was killed in this battle (Nayl, p. 285; Durra, vol. 3, p. 343).

(5) Istiqsāʾ, vol. 4, p. 91.

(6) Inbāʾ, vol. 2, p. 464; Diwān Yūsuf, pp. 33, 19, 144 and other pages; Conde, pp. 305-307.

Yūsuf III spent the last seven years of his reign in a friendly relationship with Castile. He set free a number of Christian captives and maintained the tournaments, in which a number of Christian cavaliers took part.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, he seems to have been a friend of the queen mother of Castile.⁽²⁾ In 818/1415 Ceuta was occupied by the Portuguese.⁽³⁾ In 820/1417 Yūsuf III died⁽⁴⁾ and was succeeded by his son Muḥammad^{IX} nicknamed al-Aysar.^(*) The latter seems to have oppressed his subjects, a matter which perhaps explains why he was dethroned in 1427 by his cousin Muḥammad^{VIII}/al-Ṣaghīr who was supported by the family of al-Zegri (Al-Thaghīrī).⁽⁵⁾ But two years later Muḥammad al-Aysar regained his throne with the help of Juan II of Castile, the family of Banū al-Sarrāj (Abencerrajes) and the king of Tunisia.⁽⁶⁾ In return for his help to al-Aysar, Juan II asked the Granadine king to acknowledge himself as a vassal of Castile and to pay an annual tribute. Al-Aysar refused these demands. Juan II therefore attacked the territories

(1) Conde, p. 308; Scott, p. 503.

(2) Conde, p. 308.

(3) Inbā', vol. 3, p. 40; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 46; Istiqṣā', vol. 4, p. 92.

(4) Inscripciones, p. 233.

(*) Lévi-Provençal, EI¹, III, 878 art. "Nasrids", states that Yūsuf III was succeeded by Muḥammad VIII, nicknamed Al - Aysar. R. Arié confirms this in the geneological table of the Nasrids supplied at the end of her book (Tableau No 1), but states that it was Muḥammad IX who was nicknamed al - Aysar. (See p. 131 and p. 450 of her book L' Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides).

(5) Daw', vol. 10, p. 68; Conde, pp. 310-311; Scott, p. 503.

(6) Daw', vol. 10, p. 68; "Wāṭiqa An/Cas", p. 41; Conde, p. 313-315; Scott, p. 504.

See also the article "Ibn Al-Sarrādj" by J.D. Latham in EI², III, 930.

of Granada, and in 1431 captured the stronghold of Higueruela after a fierce battle.⁽¹⁾ Meanwhile, another conspiracy was hatched by Yūsuf IV Ibn al-Maulā and the king of Castile, whose army was ravaging the outskirts of Granada. Finally al-Aysar fled to Malaga leaving the throne of Granada to Yūsuf IV, who pledged himself as a vassal of king Juan II in 835 / 1432.⁽²⁾ The reign of Yūsuf IV did not last long because he died six months after his accession to the throne. The people of Granada again invited al-Aysar to be their king, and he mounted the throne for the third time.⁽³⁾

Al-Aysar's first act upon regaining the throne was to conclude a truce of one year with Castile. But the army of Castile then attacked and captured the city of Huescar and other castles.⁽⁴⁾

The quarrels in Granada during the remainder of al - Aysar's reign led to the fall of extensive lands around Granada into the hands of the Castilians, while the Portuguese took possession of Tangier in 841 / 1438 . Al-Aysar sent his ambassadors to Cairo to request

(1) Daw', vol. 10, p. 68; Conde, pp. 316-317; Scott, p. 504; Inbā', vol. 3, pp. 457 & 458.

(2) "Wathīqa An/Cas", pp. 41-45, Conde, pp.320-321.

(3) Inbā', vol. 3, p. 511; Daw', vol. 10, p. 100; Conde, p. 323; Scott, p. 504.

(4) Conde, p. 324.

the aid of the Egyptians, who declined to offer any help under the pretext that Granada was too far away.⁽¹⁾ In the meantime, two rebellions broke out in Granada; the first was instigated by Muḥammad^X/al-Aḥnaf a nephew of al-Aysar, and the other by Saʿd Ibn Ismāʿil, a member of the Naṣrid family, and both parties were aided by Castile. Finally, the former imprisoned his uncle al-Aysar and occupied the throne of Granada in 1445, while Saʿd continued his struggle to gain the throne. He obtained the help of Castile and with Castilian support attacked Granada. Al-Aḥnaf allied himself with Aragon, and routed the Castilians in 1450. Three years later, the Ottomans conquered Constantinople. Many scholars believe that this event gave further ground for the Christians' fear of the state of Granada.⁽²⁾ Castile increased its aid to Saʿd thus enabling him finally to wrest the throne of Granada from Muḥammad al-Aḥnaf Ibn ʿUthmān in 1454. Saʿd Ibn Ismāʿil immediately made peace with Castile,⁽³⁾ but the death of Juan II in 1454 and the succession of Henry IV destroyed that peace. Upon Saʿd's refusal to declare himself a vassal of the Castilian king, Henry IV declared war on Granada, devastating and capturing many of its cities.⁽⁴⁾

(1) "Safāra," pp. 95-121; Dawʿ, vol. 10, p. 117.

(2) Read, p. 229; Reconquest, p. 159; Nihāya, p. 124.

(3) Conde, p. 336.

(4) Durra, vol. 3, p. 221; Spain, p. 258; Nihāya, p. 122.

In the year 868/1463. Banū Sarrāj (Abencerrajes) instigated Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī to revolt against his father, Saʿd. The people of Granada suffered severely throughout the war between the followers of the father and those of the son.⁽¹⁾ Henry IV took advantage of this strife and sent his troops and fleet to recover the whole territory of Granada.⁽²⁾ He captured Gibraltar in 1462 in order to forestall any African relief.⁽³⁾ Subsequent to this victory, Henry IV captured several forts, and these Castilian successes prompted Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAlī to go and meet his father and apologize to him. Henry IV's attention was later diverted by an internal struggle in Castile, on account of which he sued for a peace with Granada for five years.⁽⁴⁾ The peace lasted until the death of Saʿd,⁽⁵⁾ and the succession of his son Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Saʿd in 1464. Abu al-Ḥasan was a patron of science and literature.⁽⁶⁾ From the very beginning of his reign, however, he was faced with continual disputes with his brother Yūsuf; but the death of the latter of the plague enabled Abu al-Ḥasan to enjoy a short period of peace.⁽⁷⁾ Shortly afterwards, however,

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- (1) "Bāsit/Maq," pp. 325-327.
(2) "Bāsit/Maq," p. 325; Spain, p. 258.
(3) "Bāsit/Maq," p. 325; Istiqsā', vol. 4, p. 98; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 66; Scott, p. 504; Reconquest, p. 159; O'callaghan, p. 667; Read, p. 194; Moors, p. 253; Nihāya, p. 122.
(4) "Bāsit/Maq," p. 325.
(5) "Bāsit/Maq," p. 326; Naḡhm al-ʿIqyān, p. 117.
(6) "Bāsit/Maq," p. 327.
(7) "Bāsit/Maq," p. 327; Inscripciones, p. 237.

Muhammad al-Zaghal, the governor of Malaga, obtained the help of Henry IV and started a new rebellion. 'Abd al - Bāsiṭ Ibn Khalīl points out that it was a habit of the Banū Naṣr to rise in rebellion against fathers, sons, brothers and even grandfathers.⁽¹⁾ Abu al-Ḥasan was, thereafter, fully occupied with the war against his brother, while the people of his country suffered the dire consequences of the strife.⁽²⁾

The situation in Africa at that time was not better, since the civil strife there as well sapped the African countries of their power. In Fez, 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī, the last king of the Banū Marīn, was killed by his people, because he apparently gave the Jews extensive powers which they used to oppress the Moroccan people. The clan of Banū Waṭṭās succeeded the Marīnids in the rule of Morocco.⁽³⁾

The situation in Tunisia and Tlemcen was not better than it was in Fez and Granada, because of the intermittent wars between those two states, which, from time to time, sought the help of Abu al-Ḥasan, the king of Granada, against one another.⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) "Bāsiṭ/Maq," p. 327; Conde, p. 339; Nihāya, p. 147.
 (2) Nubdha, p. 2; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 511; Conde, pp. 340 - 341.
 (3) Jadhwa, p. 274; Bāsiṭ/book, pp. 45-58; Durra, vol. 3, pp. 156-160; Daw', vol. 4, p. 37; Shadhārāt al-Dhahab, by Ibn al-ʿImād al-Ḥanbalī, vol. 7, p. 309, Cairo, 1351 A.H.
 (4) Bāsiṭ/Book, p. 58.

In the Spanish states at this time the situation was quite different from that in Granada and Africa, since the marriage between Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile in 1469 had united both states.⁽¹⁾ A general look at the history of those states would probably show that any agreement between them was apt to lead to a victory against the Spanish Muslims, as was the case at Las Navas De Tolosa (Al-ʿIqāb) in 1212, at Gibraltar in 1309 and at Salado in 1340. In the light of this, the union between Castile and Aragon was apt to bring in its wake a new victory against Granada. Encouraged by the union, Ferdinand made a truce with Portugal and prepared for the capture of Granada. Meanwhile, Abu al-Ḥasan ʿAlī arranged a review of his forces,⁽²⁾ and when he received the ambassadors of Ferdinand who came to ask for the usual tribute he said to them: "Tell your sovereigns that the kings of Granada who used to pay tribute in money to the Castilian crown are dead; our mint at present, coins nothing but blades of swords and heads of lances".⁽³⁾ Furthermore, he attacked the fortress of Zahara (Ṣakhra) under the cover of darkness and slew its people.⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) The states of Leon and Galicia had been united with Castile in the reign of Ferdinand III, while Portugal remained the only independent state other than Castile (Altamira, p. 69; Spain, p. 282; Reconquest, p. 169; Hitti, p. 551; Read, p. 209; Watt, p. 149; O'callaghan, p. 688; Moorish Culture, p. 211; Le Bon, p. 270; Nihāya, p. 140).
- (2) Nubdha pp. 3-5; Durra, vol. 3, p. 337; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 511-512; Murphy, pp. 142-143.
- (3) See: Conde, p. 343; Irving, vol. 1, p. 12; McCabe, p. 264; Moors, p. 232.
- (4) Conde, p. 344; Irving, vol. 1, p. 24; McCabe p. 264; Watt, p. 149; Reconquest, p. 170; Moors, p. 232.

Ferdinand was much provoked by this aggression, after which he attacked and captured Alhama (Arabic: Al-Ḥamma) to the south west of Granada in 1482, with the help of Abū al-Ḥasan's minister.⁽¹⁾ He then attacked Laja (Arabic: Lusha), where, however, he was repulsed and suffered great losses.⁽²⁾ In the meantime, Granada was suffering from disorder as a result of new dissensions among the ruling family. 'Ā'isha,* the Arab wife of Abu al-Ḥasan was anxious about her sons Yūsuf and Muḥammad (Boabdil) (Abū 'Abd-Allāh) on account of her husband's second marriage to a Christian and the favours he showed towards the children of the latter. Boabdil, incited by his mother and the Abencerrajes (Banū Sarraj), fled to Guadix (Wādī Āsh), whose people promised to support him against his father. Shortly after, the people of Granada who were apparently suffering serious oppression at the hands of Abu al-Ḥasan's vizier, rose in rebellion, dethroned the father, and called upon his son Boabdil to ascend the throne. In 1482 Boabdil became master of Granada, while his father took refuge in Málaga under the protection of his brother Muḥammad al-Zaghal, the independent governor of Málaga.⁽³⁾

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- (1) Nubdha, pp. 6-9; Durra, vol. 3, p. 311; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 66; Conde, pp. 345-346; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 512 - 513; Irving, vol. 1, p. 36.
- (2) Nubdha, p. 9; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 514; Conde, p. 347; Spain, p. 294.
- (*) L.S. de Lucena names the wife of 'Alī Abu al-Ḥasan, as Fātima and not 'Ā'isha; Al-Andalus, vol. 7, 1947, pp. 359 seq, see also: Hitti, History of the Arabs, 1958, p. 553.
- (3) Nubdha, pp. 5, 6 & 10; "Bāsit/Maq," p. 327; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 512-514.

In 888 / 1483 the Castilians attacked Malaga and Velez, but were defeated by al-Zaghal and Abu al-Hasan and suffered heavy losses.⁽¹⁾ Boabdil wishing to enhance his reputation with his people, attacked the Castilian territories as far as Lucena (Arabic: Al-Lassāna) in 1483, where he was defeated and taken captive.⁽²⁾ His father Abu al-Hasan was thus able to regain possession of Granada⁽³⁾ and reinstate himself as king.

King Ferdinand subsequently liberated Boabdil and provided him with men, money, wheat, gunpowder and other supplies in order to help him recover the throne of Granada and thus perhaps inflame a civil war among its people, which would ultimately give him (Ferdinand) the opportunity for its invasion.⁽⁴⁾ In 890 / 1485 Boabdil occupied a number of Muslim fortresses, from where he started his struggle for regaining the throne. He promised the people of Granada protection from the Castilian attacks if they joined his party.⁽⁵⁾ A dire war broke out in Granada between the followers of Boabdil and those of his uncle al-Zaghal,

(1) Nubdha, pp. 11-12; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 514; Conde, p. 351; Irving, vol. 1, p. 120; Read, p. 213.

(2) Nubdha, p. 12; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 515; Conde, pp. 352 - 355; Irving, vol. 1, p. 148; McCabe, p. 274; "Bāsīt/Maq," p. 328.

(3) Nubdha, p. 12; "Bāsīt/Maq," p. 328; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 515.

(4) Al-Andalus, vol. 36, p. 154; Conde, p. 357; Murphy, p. 149; McCabe, p. 174.

(5) Nubdha, p. 16.

who had succeeded his brother Abu al-Ḥasan on the throne of Granada after the latter's illness and death.⁽¹⁾

Taking advantage of the situation, Ferdinand captured the cities of Illora, Cartama, Ronda and other fortresses in 1485. In these attacks he used artillery. When he tried to capture the fortress of Moclin, he seems to have been badly defeated and to have suffered great losses.⁽²⁾

After the fall of several cities and fortresses into the hands of king Ferdinand, many cities joined forces with Boabdil against the possibility of further invasions. When the people of Albaicín, the most populous district of Granada, renounced al-Zaghal and joined Boabdil in 891 / 1486, the internal troubles in Granada reached a climax. Ferdinand, who was still supplying Boabdil with men and arms, profited from this civil war by capturing several other cities and towns such as Loja, Elvira, Moclin and others.⁽³⁾ Al-Zaghal summoned all his forces to put down the rebellion against him in Albaicín. To hinder al-Zaghal, Ferdinand sent his troops to Vélez and Málaga in 892/1487.

(1) Nubdha, p. 13; "Bāsit/Maq," p. 328; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 68; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 515; Istiqsā', vol. 4, p. 102; Conde, pp. 362-363.

(2) Nubdha, pp. 13-16; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 515-516.

(3) Nubdha, pp. 16-17; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 516-517; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 68; Durra, vol. 3, p. 338; Conde, p. 358.

Al-Zaghal thereafter directed his army to relieve Málaga, and during his absence Boabdil entered Granada and seized the throne for the second time, while Velez and several forts fell into the hands of the Castilians in 1487.⁽¹⁾

After his deposition al-Zaghal turned to Guadix which still acknowledged his rule as did Almeria and Baza (Arabic: Baṣṭa).⁽²⁾

Ferdinand continued his invasion and laid siege to Málaga in 1487. Battles with the use of all kinds of arms, including artillery, broke out between the besieged and the besiegers. Finally the people of Malaga were compelled to capitulate.⁽³⁾

In 895 / 1489 Ferdinand seized Baza, Almeria, Guadix, Muchar, Andarax and all the cities and towns around Granada.⁽⁴⁾ He then turned his attention to Granada itself. He sent letters to his ally Boabdil demanding the capitulation of the city as stipulated in treaties already concluded between them. Boabdil, however, declared his inability to fulfil the conditions of the treaties, in view

(1) Nubdha, pp. 22-23; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 519-520; Conde, pp. 370-373.

(2) Conde, p. 372.

(3) Nubdha, pp. 24-25; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 520; Crestomatia, p. 80; Conde, p. 375; Scott, pp. 630-632; Irving, vol. 2, pp. 2-4; Read, p. 215; Hitti, p. 554.

(4) Nubdha, pp. 25-28; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 521-522; Conde, pp. 377-384; Irving, vol. 3, p. 226.

of his people's refusal to capitulate.⁽¹⁾ On receipt of this answer Ferdinand collected a large army, which at the time consisted of a large number of Mudejars (Mudajjanīn), apostates (Murtaddīn), and European volunteers, as well as reinforcements provided by al-Zaghal, who wanted to avenge himself against his nephew.⁽²⁾ This united army attacked the surroundings of Granada, while the people of this sole surviving Muslim city in Spain decided to resist the Christian attacks. For the first time in many years, the people of Granada, both nobles and commoners, agreed upon one decision. They recovered Alpujarra and many towns such as Padul, (Ar. Al-Badhūl) Andarax, Berja, Alhendīn (Ar. Hamdān) and others.⁽³⁾

Since the people of Granada had decided to sacrifice their lives and to fight until the last, Ferdinand found it impossible to enter Granada peacefully. He led a tremendous army of soldiers from many parts of Spain and Europe, and fell upon the fertile orchards of the Vega in April 1491. He positioned his army outside the gates of Granada and prepared for a long siege. The people of Granada were encouraged by Mūsā Ibn Abi al-Ghassān, the commander of the Granadine fursān, who attacked the besiegers several times. But when winter came, the way to Alpujarras, from where the people of

(1) Nubdha, p. 29; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 522; Conde, p. 386.

(2) Nubdha, pp. 28-31; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 522-524. (It is said that Al-Zaghal sold many towns to Ferdinand and fled to Africa).

(3) Nubdha, pp. 30-35; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 524; Conde, p. 388.

Granada used to obtain their provisions during the siege, was blocked by snow, causing starvation among the besieged. They were consequently compelled to surrender in November 1491 after Ferdinand had accepted their conditions.⁽¹⁾

There were 67 conditions under which the city surrendered, and these included the condition that the Muslims of Granada were to be permitted to remain in undisturbed possession of their houses and valuables of every kind, that they were not to be deprived of their arms, horses or any other property, that they were to be assured free exercise of their religion and that safe passage would be guaranteed to those who wished to emigrate, and ships provided by Ferdinand for this purpose.⁽²⁾

Ferdinand and Isabella entered Alhambra in January 1492. Many people of Granada emigrated to Fez, Tlemcen, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Palestine and other countries. Boabdil was given a fief in Andarax, but he was then ordered to move into Alpujarra . Finally he emigrated to Fez, where he spent the rest of his life.⁽³⁾ He apologized to king al - Waṭṭāṣī for what had happened and he called himself "the

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- (1) For details see Nubdha, pp. 37-46; Durra, vol. 2, pp. 138 & 142; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 50-68; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 524-526; Istiqsā', vol. 4, pp. 104-105; Conde, pp. 390-393; Crestomatia, pp. 81-83; Irving, vol. 2, p. 245; Scott, p. 625; McCabe, pp. 267-281; Murphy, p. 155.
- (2) For these conditions see Conde, p. 396; Murphy, p. 155; Nubdha, p. 41; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 525-526; Bertrand, 221; Istiqsā', vol. 4, p. 104.
- (3) He died in 940/1540 (Nafh, vol. 4, p. 529).

Unlucky".⁽¹⁾

Although it would seem that Granada survived as an Arab and Muslim state longer than was to be expected, one should still consider the factors which contributed to its fall. One might think it was the natural outcome of the mutual distrust between two hostile neighbours who differed in so many respects like language, traditions, religion, ideology, character, size of population⁽²⁾ and size of territories⁽³⁾ etc. On the other hand, the internal dynastic quarrels⁽⁴⁾ in Granada destroyed its power

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- (1) Crestomatia, p. 83; Nubdha, p. 43; Conde, p. 403; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 527; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 67-68.
- (2) See: Some Aspects, p. 7; Hitti, p. 550; Moorish Culture, p. 182; Imamuddin, p. 173. (Murphy, p. 200, says that the people of Granada numbered 3 millions), Remiro, p. 214; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 358.
- (3) McCabe says that the state of Granada constituted only three percent of the area of the Peninsula. (McCabe, p. 251).
- (4) These quarrels, as the examiner of Granadine history may notice, were caused by many factors. The most prominent of these was the oppressive policy of many Nasrid kings, and the pernicious mutual jealousies of many jurists, learned men, nobles, and ministers of those kings. It might also have been noticed that certain social factors led to these internal dissensions and the continuous strife. Many Nasrid kings were married to more than one wife, and often had Muslim and Christian wives. This was the main reason for the troubles among the members of the ruling family, because the arguments between the Muslim wives and the Christian wives, or between the Christian wives themselves produced even more violent arguments between their sons. The sons of each wife felt that they had the hereditary right to occupy the throne of Granada, and each wife wanted the throne of Granada for her son. For this reason Naṣr revolted against his brother Muḥammad III, and for the same reason Ismā'īl Ibn Yūsuf revolted against Muḥammad V, and this was the reason for the bloody civil war in Granada in the last few years before its fall. In the light of all this it is not surprising to find that more than a third of the 21 Nasrid kings died at the hands of assassins.

and its people were divided into various warring factions. And while the Spanish states received assistance from several parts of Europe, the appeals carried by the writers and ulema of Granada to Egypt and Africa went unheeded.

"The surrender of Granada" a painting by Pradilla,
in "Capilla Real" in Granada.



CHAPTER II

Some Aspects of The Literary Life in Nasrid Granada

There are many general studies concerning Hispano Arabic literature both in Arabic and other languages. But one can observe that they have scarcely gone beyond the end of the sixth century, except for a few studies concerning Ibn al-Khaṭīb, a distinguished writer of the eighth century of the Hijra/the fourteenth century of the Christian era. Despite the scarcity of studies concerning the literary life in Granada during the Naṣrid period⁽¹⁾ one can find a number of view points regarding the literature of that period; some highly admired it while others were very critical of it. It seems that many of those views amount to little more than general impressions not established on a clear criterion of judgement. The high reputation of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb and his literary works might have misled many scholars. Some thought that there was no writer of calibre in Granada during the Naṣrid era except Ibn al-Khaṭīb at a time when

(1) Rachel Arié's book, L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides (1232-1492), is a comprehensive and valuable work which takes account of modern research up to 1973, but the section in it dealing with literature is little more than a small part of the eighth and final chapter. A thesis on Arabic poetry in the Naṣrid era has been written by the Algerian scholar Hamādī 'Abdullāh at the University of Madrid, and submitted in June, 1980. But I have not unfortunately been able to consult this work.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself has left numerous biographies of many contemporary writers in Granada whose fame and literary skill he is a witness to. Many scholars⁽¹⁾ saw little that, as we have just pointed out, is of value in the Granadine literature, and singled out only Ibn al-Khaṭīb, for some praise. Other scholars found in the fame of Ibn al-Khaṭīb a sign of a literary florescence in Granada and expressed their admiration for the literary output in the Naṣrid period as a whole.⁽²⁾ Some of those who were critical of Granadine literature had associated the political decline with a concomitant literary eclipse. O'callaghan, for example, says⁽³⁾ that "the precarious existence which the kingdom of Granada was compelled to lead did not allow the tranquility, prosperity and sense of confidence in the future so often essential to study. For this reason García Gómez had called the period an epilogue in the history of Spanish Muslim literature...".⁽⁴⁾ O'callaghan adds that⁽⁵⁾ "the literary output of the Granadine

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- (1) See: Sordo, p. 132; O'callaghan, pp. 488, 517 & 519, Pierre Cachia (*A History of Islamic Spain*) pp. 154 - 155 & 113; Gómez, p. 72; Shauqi Daif (*al-Fann wa Madhāhibuhū*) p. 171.
- (2) "T.B. Irving," pp. 188-189; Nicholson, p. 435; Hitti, p. 550; Adler, pp. 20-21; Inān (*Nihāya*, p. 342), Stanley Lane-Poole, (*Moors*, p. 221); Nykl p. 357; Brockelmann (*History of the Islamic Peoples*, p. 214); Monroe, p. 62; Provençal, p. 18; Gibb, p. 150; Zamama, (*Baṇū al-Aḥmar fī Gharnāṭa*, pp. 105 & 110); al-Dāyeh (*Diwān Ibn Khātima*, pp. 7-8); Murphy, p. 200; M. Qāhir (*Diwān Lisān*, pp. 123-125), and others.
- (3) O'callaghan, p. 517.
- (4) Gómez, pp. 71-72.
- (5) p. 519.

period is small". On the other hand, some of those who admired the literature of Granada during the Nasrid era, such as Altamira, had distinguished between the political disorder and the civilization as a whole.⁽¹⁾ Nicholson and Schack had seen the relation between literature and public life as a factor contributing to florescence in Granadine literature.⁽²⁾ A general survey of the literary works which have come down to us from that period might show that political decadence could have contributed to an increase in literary output. A glance back to the period of the mulūk al-tawā'if in Andalusia shows that although political anarchy had reached a high degree at that time, literature witnessed a degree of prosperity which made the period of the mulūk al-tawā'if the golden age of Andalusian literature.*

There are other view points which scholars should perhaps have taken into account as regards the literature of the period. These are the views of the Granadine writers who produced that literature and took part in the literary life in Granada, no matter how biased or even one-sided

(1) Altamira, p. 70.

(2) Nicholson, p. 436.

(*) For details see: A History of Islamic Spain, pp. 154 - 155 & 113, by Watt, (the literary section by Pierre Cachia).

these might be. Ibn al-Jayyāb, for example, a famous Granadine writer who lived in the eighth century of the Hijra/the fourteenth century of the Christian era, referring to Andalusian grandiloquence, ⁽¹⁾ says:

<p>لأنّ لس من غير شرط ولا ثنيا فصيرت الشهد المشور بها شنيا يقيمون فيها الرسم للذين والذنيا تجلّي القلوب الخلف والأعين العميا تخال النجوم النيرات لها حليا</p>	<p>أبى الله إلا أن تكون اليد العليا وان هي عصمتها بنوب نواب فما عدمت أهل البلاغة والحجا إذا خطبوا قاموا بكل بليغة وإن شعروا جاءوا بكل غريبة الخ.</p>
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God decreed that Andalusia, should have precedence without condition and without exception.
And even if the vicissitudes of "Time" have gnawed at her with their teeth and turned its honey into colocynth,
She did not lose her men of letters and of intelligence who re-established the glory of the Faith and prosperity of life.
When they made speeches, their speeches were examples of eloquence,
which enlightened the discerning minds, and opened the eyes of the blind.
And when they wrote poetry they composed remarkable odes, which seemed to have the shining stars for their (stylistic) ornament.

Ismā'īl Ibn al-Aḥmar,* who died in 807/1404, says that a great number of poets and men of letters lived in Granada at his time and wrote a large number of literary

(1) Nafh, vol. 5, p. 458; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 115.
(*) A Granadine writer and a member of the Nasrid family. He lived in Fez and wrote a number of works on Granadine literature.

works.⁽¹⁾ Ibn Khaldūn, who died in 808/1405, refers to the people of Granada saying that "no trace of the various sciences survived among them except for grammar and literature".⁽²⁾

"لم يبق من رسم العلم فيهم إلا فن العربية والأدب"

‘Abd al-Bāsiṭ Ibn Shāhīn al-Mālṭī, the Egyptian great traveller,** who visited Granada in 870/1465, says that Granada was "a meeting place of learned men, scientists, notables, poets and artists"⁽³⁾

"وهي مجمع الفضلاء والعلماء والأعيان والشعراء وأرباب الفنون والكمالات"

Al-Maqqarī, the author of Nafh al-Ṭīb, seems to be very proud of the literary achievements of the Granadine people, and he reproduced many examples of their literary output in his compilations.⁽⁴⁾

It would be useful to divide the whole period of Nasrid rule into three stages in order to enable anyone studying its literature to get a clearer picture of that literature. The first stage covers the period from Muḥammad I's entry into Granada in 635/1238 up to the end of the seventh century of the Hijra/the thirteenth century of the

(1) Nathīr Farā'id, p. 217, 218, Nathīr, p. 21.

(2) Badā'i', vol. 2, p. 816.

(**) He described his travels in north Africa and Granada in his book entitled al-Rawḍ al-Bāsim...

(3) "Bāsit/mag," p. 313.

(4) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 116; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 458.

Christian era. This stage contains the works of the Andalusian writers who witnessed the founding of the Naṣrid kingdom and the fall of several cities of Andalusia to the Spaniards. These writers were very anxious about the fate of Granada. They thought it would soon capitulate as many cities had already done, and that it would not last longer than the kingdom of Ibn Hūd in Saragossa. Many of them, therefore, abandoned Andalusia for the African and Asian Arab countries. Among these writers were Ibn al-Abbār, Ibn Saʿīd, Ibn Sahl, Ibn ʿAmīra, Hāzim al-Qarṭājannī, Ibn al-Baiṭār, Ibn Ḥamdūn, Ibn Mālik, Muḥyī al-Dīn Ibn ʿArabī, and others. But, on the other hand, the patronage of literature and the arts exercised by the Naṣrid kings encouraged a great number of writers to stay in Granada, taking an eminent role in the direction of the political life of the state. Among those who stayed in Granada one can mention the names of: Ibn ʿĀbid al-Anṣārī, Ibn Masʿūd al-Muḥāribī, Ibn al-Ḥakīm, Ibn al-Zubair, Ibn Khamīs, Ibn al-Murābiṭ, Ibn al-Fakhkhār al-Judhāmī, Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, Ibn Shabrīn, Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī and many others.

After more than half a century had elapsed following the establishment of the new dominion of Granada, and when the period of the fall of other Andalusian cities looked far behind, Granada became a fairly stable country with a

strong and well equipped army. It was also receiving very effective military and political aid from Morocco, a Muslim state which could and did at that time defeat the Spaniards in a number of battles, and thus helped to restore some of the Arab prestige in Andalusia. Consequently, by the end of this first period the Granadine writers felt that they could safely stay in their country. The brain drain from Andalusia seemed to have been markedly reduced, and with this relative stability the second stage of the literary life in Granada could be said to have commenced. This stage covers the eighth/fourteenth century, the golden age of literature in Granada in the Naṣrid period. In this period a new generation of writers appeared. This was the age of prosperity in the different spheres of Granadine life. A large number of poets and men of letters lived in Granada at this time. Among them were Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī and many others.

By the end of the eighth century of the Hijra/the fourteenth century of the Christian era, the third and last stage of the literary life in Naṣrid Granada had started. It embraces the whole of the ninth century. The lack of sources concerning this period in particular may have misled scholars into thinking that the whole of the Naṣrid period was one of literary decline and relative dearth.

‘Abd-Allāh Gannūn, the editor of the dīwān of Yūsuf III, king of Granada (810-820/1407-1417), says that the time in which this dīwān was written was the time of the disappearance of all sorts of poets, including the popular poets in Andalusia.⁽¹⁾ ‘Abd-Allah ‘Inān is less extreme than Gannūn. He says that after the middle of the ninth century of the Hijra the intellectual movement started dwindling gradually in Granada, but despite this situation, there appeared a number of learned men in the Naṣrid state.⁽²⁾ It is, no doubt, more appropriate to judge the literary life of any period through the contents of its extant literature rather than through the number of works which have survived from it. It seems that Nicholson was aware of the importance of this approach when he said, in connection with the Naṣrid period, that "our information concerning literary matters is scantier than it might have been, on account of the vandalism practised by the Christians when they took Granada.." indicating the reputed burning of Arabic manuscripts at the hands of Archbishop Ximénez.⁽³⁾ Although aware of the lack of information concerning the literature of that period, Nicholson says that the latest bloom in Arabic culture in Europe renewed,

(1) Dīwān Yūsuf, p. 7.

(2) Nihāya, p. 468.

(3) Nicholson, p. 435 & Hitti, p. 555.

if it did not equal, the glorious memories of Cordova and Seville.⁽¹⁾ However, the few sources concerning the literature of the ninth century in Granada contain a considerable number of names of remarkable writers of that century such as Abū Yahyā Ibn ‘Āṣim, who was known as Ibn al-Khaṭīb the second,⁽²⁾ al-Sharrān,⁽³⁾ al-‘Arabī al-‘Uqailī,⁽⁴⁾ Ibn al-Azraq⁽⁵⁾ and others.* A number of these writers lived until the capitulation of Granada in 1492 , and some of their literary writings are now available.

The view concerning the weakness of literature in the Naṣrid period might have resulted from various factors. But foremost among these factors is the disappearance of many literary works compiled by the people of Granada in the different periods. The survival of more sources relating to the eighth century than to the ninth is perhaps due to the fact that many of the Granadine writers of the eighth century had served in the African courts. Among these was Ibn al - Khaṭīb, Ismā‘īl Ibn al-Aḥmar(d.1404) , Ibn Juzaiy(d.1356) and others. Their books were thus saved from destruction

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- (1) Ibid, p. 435.
(2) Nayl, p. 313; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 162; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 145, and vol. 3, p. 322.
(3) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 133.
(4) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 549; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 103.
(5) Azhār, vol. 3, p. 317.
(*) For other names see: Rihlat al-Qalaṣādī, pp. 83-92 & 161-168, Barnāmaj al-Majāri, pp. 84-128.

during the feuds which frequently broke out in Granada. Safe journeys between Granada and other Islamic countries in the eighth century facilitated the exchange of literary works, and the transfer of Granadine books to those countries. In the ninth century, however, new conditions arose which impeded such journeys. The dangers created by piracy at sea imposed serious perils on the lives of the students, merchants and pilgrims, especially after the occupation of Gibraltar by Castile in 1462 and the occupation in 1415 and 1438 of Ceuta and Tangier by the Portuguese. This situation reduced travel from, and back to Granada and consequently the transfer of books to other countries. Instead, most literary compilations were accumulated in the royal library in the Alhambra and other private libraries, which were the first victims of the Spanish entry into Granada in 1492, leading to the burning of many Arabic manuscripts.⁽²⁾

An anonymous poet wrote a poem at that time to Bāyazīd II of Turkey in which he sought Ottoman help for Granada and decried the burning of Islamic books at the hands of the Christians. He said.⁽¹⁾

(1) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 112.

(2) See Nicholson, p. 435 & Hitti, p. 555.

وَحَلَّطَهَا بِالزَّلِيلِ أَوْ بِالنَّجَاسَةِ
فَفِي النَّارِ الْقُوَّةُ بِهِزْءٍ وَحَقَرَةٍ
وَلَا مَصْحَفًا يُخْلَى بِهِ لِلْقِرَاءَةِ

وَأُخْرِقَ مَا كَانَتْ لَنَا مِنْ مَصَاحِفٍ
وَكُلُّ كِتَابٍ كَانَ فِي أَمْرٍ دِينِنَا
وَلَمْ يَتْرَكُوا فِيهَا كِتَابًا لِمُسْلِمٍ

They burnt all the Qurans we possessed,
and desecrated them. (Lit. covered them
with filth, and with impurities)
And they burnt all books regarding our
religion, with mockery and contempt.
They didn't spare a book for a Muslim
nor any Quran to be read in seclusion.

The burning of Arabic manuscripts by the Christians was the most serious of several incidents in which books were destroyed in Granada during the Nasrid era, since many book collections were destroyed or burnt as a result of the internal political upheavals or the ideological controversies and purges. Ibn al-Hakīm, the prime minister of Muḥammad III, and who "possessed a library which looked like the royal libraries" was killed in 708/1308 and his books were stolen during the strife in which he lost his life.⁽¹⁾ In 760/1358 and after the coup in Granada led by Ismā'īl Ibn Naṣr many books of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb were destroyed.⁽²⁾ In 773/1371, when Ibn al-Khaṭīb was compelled to flee to Morocco, many of his books were burnt in the presence of the jurists who charged the author with atheism.⁽³⁾ Another savant whose books were destroyed was

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- (1) Lamha, p. 67; Durar, vol. 4, p. 116; Nafh, vol. 2, p. 626.
(2) Diwān Lisān, p. 228; Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 76-77.
(3) Marqaba, p. 202.

Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al-Tujībī who died in 718/1318.⁽¹⁾

Moreover, hundreds of learned men including writers and those who committed to memory whole chapters of the contemporaneous literature died in the battles between the different factions in Granada, or in the battles between Granada and the Spanish states, especially at Tarifa in 741/1340 and Gibraltar in 750/1349. Hundreds or even thousands of those writers and learned men died of the plague which struck Andalusia several times, and particularly in the years 749-750/1348-1349.⁽²⁾

There was another factor which might have affected the literature of the Nasrid period and that is the tyranny of the rulers which forced many writers to abandon Granada forever. Among these latter was Ibn Hayyān the grammarian who settled in Egypt and wrote a number of poems in which he complained about the ill-treatment he met in Granada and about the tyranny of its rulers. He enjoins people not to keep the company of rulers saying:⁽³⁾

وإِنْ تَلَّ مِنْهُمْ عَزًّا وَتَمَكِينًا
وَيَذْهَبُ الْعَمْرُ لَا دُنْيَا وَلَا دِينَا

لَا تَصْحَبَنَّ مَلِكًا أَوْ مَنْ يَلُودُ بِهِ
يَسْتَحْدِ مَوْتُكَ فِي لَذَاتِ أَنْفُسِهِمْ

(1) Durar, vol. 3, p. 441.

(2) Marqaba, pp. 148 & 156; Maqna'a, pp. 28 & 29; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 365; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 125-132. The plague struck Granada several times in 709/1309, 717/1316, 749/1348, 844/1440, 870/1465 and at different other times.

(3) Diwān Abi Hayyān, pp. 237-238.

Do not keep the company of any king or anyone related to him even if you obtain might and support.

They use you for their own pleasure, then life comes to an end when you have lost both the here and the hereafter.

He indicates in another poem the effect of that ill-treatment on his literary activity saying: (1)

استعجمتُ ولجبري الآن قد جَمَسَا	ما للبراعة لا ريعت بحادثة
يُملى ولا نَشَبُ يريح مبتَسَا	وللقوا في قفتُ مالي فلا أدبُ
ورسمُ جودي إذا قللتُ قد دَرَسَا	فصفحةُ الطرس من دَرِي معطلَة
لما غدا ما فكري غائراً يبَسَا	وقد ذَوَتْ زَهْرَاتُ الشَّعْرِ وأسفا
ولم أُجِلْ للصبا في حلبة فرَسَا	كأنني لم أعمرُ منتدى أدبِ
إن كنتُ أسكنُ بعدَ العام أندلسَا	سَدَدْتُ بابَ القري عن كلِّ ملتمسِ

What is the matter with the reed-pen, may it not be afflicted by any calamity, that it has been reduced to silence, and with my ink that it has dried up.

Poetry has vanished together with my wealth, and, consequently, there is no literature to be dictated nor any property to give comfort to the unhappy:!

The pages remain blank, unadorned by any worthy compositions, and the urge to be generous, now that I am writing less and less, has to be repressed.

Alas, the splendour of my poetry has been dimmed, and the sources of thought have dried up.

As if I had never animated any literary circles, and never led a spirited horse into a competition.

I shall turn into a miser, if I have to live in Andalusia for another year.

(1) Ibid.

Then the poet goes on to give further details of the difficulties which had beset him.

Many Granadine families in the Naṣrid period, such as Banū al-Ḥakīm, Banū al-Ḥājj, Banū ʿĀṣim, Banū Juzaiy, Banū Manẓūr, Banū al-Khaṭīb, Banū Lubb and others, had established for themselves renowned literary reputations. Many of the members of those families may have inherited the reputation from their fathers or grandfathers. Such a phenomenon may have led or contributed to the disappearance or relative obscurity of many names of writers descended from less famous or less known families. One can easily establish that the vast majority of the known names of Granadine writers were members of well-known families or government officials, and especially those who maintained close relations with the rulers. This might indicate that the literature that has come down to us from the Naṣrid period is that of the upper classes only, and particularly of court officials.

The literature of Granada could perhaps be favourably compared with the literary output of other periods in Andalusian history, like the period of the mulūk al-tawāʾif, for example, when literature emanated from several major cities such as Cordova, Seville, Toledo, Murcia, Valencia, Almeria and other city states. But in the Naṣrid days, it should be remembered, it was the literature of one state

only. It seems somewhat unfair in the light of all this to compare the literature of one city with that of several thriving cities. The population of Granada quite clearly was far smaller than that of the whole Peninsula. Besides, there had been great competition, as is well - known, between the rulers of the different cities of Andalusia in every line of life, including literature, and this healthy competition enriched literature. But in Granada there was no immediate competitor. Despite the narrowness of the land of the Naṣrid kings, the lack of competition, and the small size of the population, the people of Granada maintained an active literary life.

There are also a number of phenomena which indicate a splendid literary activity in Granada throughout the whole period of the Banū Naṣr. The first is the spread of literary assemblies or salons which fostered literary activity through competitions, emulations, imitations mu'āradāt, discussions and other activities.⁽¹⁾ These were held in many places such as the writers' offices in Alhambra where many poets and men of letters worked, and spent their time in composing letters or writing and discussing poetry. An example to illustrate this was the occasion when Alfonso XI directed his army in 741/1340 to

(1) For examples see: Diwān Ibn Khātima, pp. 21 & 179; Diwān Lisān, p. 305; Margaba, p. 149; Nafh, vol. 2, p. 170.

occupy Granada. The writers of the palace assembled to discuss the matter. Ibn al-Jayyāb recited the verse:

هذا العدو قد طغى وقد تعدّى وغيى

The enemy has exceeded his bounds;
since he transgresses and advances
upon us.

Then he asked Ibn al-Khaṭīb to follow this with another verse. Ibn al-Khaṭīb recited immediately:

وأظهر السلمَ وقْدُ أَسْرَحَسُوا في ارتِغَا

He pretends to make peace, but conceals
his intention of surprise. (Lit. intends
to take good sips, while pretending to
skim the froth on top of the milk only).

Ibn al-Jayyāb then promptly commented on Ibn al-Khaṭīb's competence by saying "Either improvisation be of this standard or it should not be attempted at all", and the listeners, we are told, admired that improvisation.⁽¹⁾

The pleasure trips which were organized by teachers, students, rulers and other people were also occasions for literary activity.⁽²⁾ The most famous incentive for literary production, however, was the court of the Granadine rulers who were patrons of art and literature.⁽³⁾ Banquets

(1) Dīwān Lisān, p. 619; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 60; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 192.

(2) For an example see: Qā'iḳ, pp. 50 & 51.

(3) For examples see: Marqaba, p. 174; Nathīr, p. 169; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 681.

were also rich occasions for literary activity, as poets invariably recited poems describing the food and offering aesthetic entertainment to the company.⁽¹⁾ Public festivals and occasions, such as the feast of breaking the Ramaḍān fast, the feast of immolation, the Prophet's birthday, new year's day, the birth of a son to the king, or the newborn's circumcision, chivalry tournaments, and army reviews were also occasions for writers and reciters to prove their mettle. Literature was one of the subjects taught at schools in Granada, and thus one finds one poet or another giving lectures on poetry. Ibn Zamrak⁽²⁾ and Ibn al-Hājj al-Numairī⁽³⁾ are cases in point. Generally speaking, wherever public meetings were held in Granada there were literary activities, since literature was still seen by the people of Granada as one of the most favourable forms of entertainment. Poetry was used even when exchanging personal letters, invitations, sending or asking for gifts, or for various other purposes, a matter which in its own way helped to enrich the literature and preserve its bloom.⁽⁴⁾ African writers often expressed a desire to take part in the literary activities in Granada. They abandoned their countries and were received warmly by

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- (1) For examples see: Dīwān Ibn Khātima, p. 186; Nayl, p. 72; Bāsīt/Book, pp. 19-22; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 38.
(2) Nathir farā'id, p. 328.
(3) Nayl, p. 45.
(4) For an example see: Azhār, vol. 3, pp. 304 & 323.

the Naṣrid kings.⁽¹⁾ They were in many cases given important official positions. Among the African authors who chose to live in Granada were Ibn al-Murāḥḥal, Ibn Khamīs, Ibn Marzūq and al-Maqqarī the Grandfather. The cultural intercourse between Granada and Africa reached a high degree, because of the continuous movement of learned men from one country to the other. Many of these men spent a part of their lives in one country and a part in the other. Jurists and learned men of both countries exchanged letters in which they discussed literary, grammatical, or judicial matters. Victories and defeats of the Africans in Andalusia were also celebrated by writers in Granada as well as in Morocco, because those battles were a matter which concerned both sides to the same degree. One may also add that the nearness of Granada to Africa had made travel between the two countries an easy matter. On the other hand, the Granadine people emigrated not only to Africa, but also to other Muslim countries such as Syria, Egypt, Iraq, Palestine, Mecca, Medina, Yemen and others. There were many motives or reasons which prompted this emigration such as the fear of wars, the intrigues of personal enemies, the tyrannic policy of many Naṣrid rulers, the anticipation of the fall of Granada, the scientific

(1) For some examples see: Nathīr, p. 224; Nayl, p. 249; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 302.

pilgrimages and other reasons. As a result, one can find a great number of Granadine names throughout the pages of the Oriental and African biographies, such as those of al-Suyūṭī, al-Ṣafadī, al-ʿAsqalānī and others. Those emigrants were given high positions in the countries in which they settled.⁽¹⁾

The development of literature in Granada was also due to the patronage of art and literature by the Naṣrid kings, since most, if not all, of them, were either poets or lovers of poetry and prose. It is said that Muḥammad I, the first of the Naṣrid kings, used to hold two meetings every week of his ministers, writers, and jurists in which one of the main items was to listen to poets.⁽²⁾ Most of his ministers and secretaries were brilliant writers and poets, such as Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Ibn Muḥammad al-Ruʿainī, Abū Bakr Ibn Khaṭṭāb and Abū ʿAmr al-Lūshī.⁽³⁾ Muḥammad II (671-701/1272-1301) was known for his beautiful handwriting and patronage of writers, poets, physicians, astronomers and philosophers.⁽⁴⁾ He was also a poet. Ibn al-Khaṭīb reports that he had read a lot of poetry written by him, but

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- (1) For examples see: Bughyat al-Ruwād, vol. 2, pp. 67, 107, 189, 201...; Durar, vol. 1, p. 194; Nafh, vol. 2, pp. 583 & 655.
(2) Lamḥa, p. 44; Iḥāta, vol. 2, p. 95.
(3) Lamḥa, p. 45; Iḥāta, vol. 2, p. 96; Conde, p. 148.
(4) Lamḥa, p. 50; Iḥāta, vol. 1, p. 557; Durar, vol. 5, p. 10.

that his poetry, if compared with the work of the well - known poets, was weak, yet elegant when compared with that of other rulers. Ibn al-Khaṭīb then gives an example of Muḥammad II's poetry. Muḥammad II says addressing his minister 'Azīz Ibn 'Alī al-Dānī:⁽¹⁾

<p>وَإِعْطَيْنَا الْمَالَ بِالرَّاحَتَيْنِ وَمَالُوا إِلَيْنَا مِنَ الْعُدَّةِ وَتَيْنِ وَإِذْ سَأَلَ السَّلَامَ مَنَا اللَّعِينُ فَلَمْ يَحْظَ إِلَّا بِخُفٍّ حَتَّى حُتِنِ</p>	<p>تَذَكَّرْ عَزِيزُ لَيَالٍ مَضَتْ وَقَدْ قَصَدَتْنا مَلُوكُ الْجِهَاتِ وَإِذْ سَأَلَ السَّلَامَ مَنَا اللَّعِينُ فَلَمْ يَحْظَ إِلَّا بِخُفٍّ حَتَّى حُتِنِ</p>
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O 'Azīz remember the nights passed,
while we were giving money away in handfuls,
And when kings from all directions and from
the two sides of the Straits walked up to us.
And when the cursed (one) sought our peace
and returned with empty hands (i.e. without
achieving his mission).

Muḥammad II was also interested in holding literary gatherings with his poets, and his court was full of distinguished writers such as 'Azīz al-Dānī, Abū Bakr al - Lūshī, Muḥammad Ibn 'Ābid al-Anṣārī, Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥakīm, and Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī who often recited poetry in compliance with the wishes of the king.⁽²⁾ Muḥammad II was succeeded by his son Muḥammad III, who surpassed his predecessors in the dynasty in his literary pursuits. Al - Nubāhī al-Mālaqī says about him: "From the early days of his reign he took care of learned men, invited writers and philosophers to his court, and took part in all kinds of scientific and artistic pursuits."⁽³⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb says

(1) Lamḥa, p. 51; Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 558; see also the rest of the verses in: Wafī, vol. 1, p. 207.
(2) Ihāṭa, MS, fol. 67, and for the names of Muḥammad II's writers see also: Lamḥa, p. 52; Conde, p. 180.
(3) Nuzha, p. 119.

that "the days of his reign were like festivals, that he wrote poetry, listened to it and rewarded the poets for it..."⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb adds: "He wrote elegant poetry which is thought to be much better than most of what kings had written, and I have seen a collection of his poetry, put together by one of his officials."⁽²⁾ But one can find only a few poems by him in which he managed to link successfully love themes with themes of self-praise or vainglory.⁽³⁾ Ibn al-Jayyāb describes him in a panegyric saying:⁽⁴⁾

جَمَعَ الْعُلُومَ عنايةً بفنونها آدابها وحسابها وجدالها

He brought together (in his person) knowledge .
of all the sciences: literature, mathematics,
and logic... since he was (personally)
concerned in propagating them all.

The writers at his court, as Ibn al-Khaṭīb reports, were "an elite of whom the country was proud because of their literary abilities, skill, merit and elegance".⁽⁵⁾

"..... جملة تتباهى بهم الدول أدبا وتغننا وفضلا وظرفا"

Among those writers were: Ibn Shabrīn, Abū Ishāq al-Lūshī, ʿAzīz al-Dānī, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥakīm and others.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Lamḥa, p. 61; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 545; Durar, vol. 4, p. 352.

(2) Lamḥa, p. 61; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 545.

(3) Lamḥa, p. 62; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 545; Durar, vol. 4, p. 352.

(4) Nathīr, p. 128.

(5) Lamḥa, p. 64.

(6) Lamḥa, pp. 63 & 64; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 549.

The fourth Naṣrid ruler was Naṣr, who came to the throne in 708/1308. He took a great interest in literature. Abu al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Jayyāb, the brilliant Granadine writer, was a prominent member of his court circle.⁽¹⁾ Naṣr was succeeded by Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj, who was described by Ismā'īl Ibn Yūsuf in his book Farā'id al-ʿAsr min Shiʿr Banī Naṣr⁽²⁾ as a poet and lover of poetry. Muḥammad IV succeeded his father Ismā'īl in 725/1324. Ibn al-Khaṭīb says that Muḥammad IV was fond of literature and used to entertain himself with listening to poetry, and that he was quite discerning in singling out its beautiful verses.⁽³⁾ After his death his son Yūsuf I ascended the throne of Granada. He was a poet⁽⁴⁾ whom Ibn al-Khaṭīb praised with the following verses:⁽⁵⁾

يلقاهُم متَهَلِّلاً بِسَامَا	إِنَّ أُمَّةَ الْعَافُونَ يَنْتَجِعُونَهُ
رَاضَ الْعُقُولَ وَرَوَّضَ الْأَفْهَامَا	أَوْ حَاوَلَ الْأَدَابَ مَبْتَدِعَا لَهَا

If beggars walked up to him seeking his alms
he would receive them smiling and cheerful,
And if he tried his hand at literature he
would give an exercise to peoples' minds,
and stimulate their thoughts.

One of his habits was to ask his poet Ibn al-Khaṭīb to write poems on the theme of the early morning. These poems were called sabūhiyyāt i.e. "The poems of the early morning"⁽⁶⁾

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- (1) Lamha, p. 71; Conde, 215.
 (2) Nathīr, pp. 81-82. There are no extant manuscripts of this book, and in all likelihood it seems to have been lost.
 (3) Lamha, p. 90; Durar, vol. 4, p. 9.
 (4) Conde, 249.
 (5) Diwān Lisān, p. 582.
 (6) Diwān Lisān, pp. 272, 365, 398 & 522, ... etc.

When he declared his patronage of mysticism and allowed the mystics to attend his meetings, Yūsuf I asked Ibn al-Khaṭīb to write poetry imitating Sufi poems.⁽¹⁾ His son and successor Muḥammad V was also a poet, and wrote love poems in which he could combine themes of the humiliation of love with the might of kingship; he says in one of his poems:⁽²⁾

أَيَا رِيَّةَ الْخِذْرِ الَّتِي أَذْهَبَتْ نُسْكَي عَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ أَنْتِ لَا بَدَّ لِي مِنْكَ
فَمَا بَذَلَ وَهُوَ أَلِيْقٌ بِالْهَوَى وَإِنَّمَا بَعَزَ وَهُوَ أَلِيْقٌ بِالْمُلْكَ

O you, lady of the curtained chamber
who has made me forgo my piety,
I cannot in any case do without you
I shall win your favour either by self -
humiliation which befits love, or by
might which befits royalty.

In his book Maqālāt al-Uḍabā', 'Alī Ibn Hudhail, (who also wrote works on the arts of warfare and chivalry) says that he wrote this book for the library of Muḥammad V, who was keenly interested in literature.⁽³⁾ Ibn al-Hājj al-Numairī praised Muḥammad V for his ability to write poetry saying:⁽⁴⁾

وَأَطَاعَهُ الشَّعْرُ الَّذِي أَرَى عَلَى مَعْتَادِهِ فِي الطُّوْلِ لِلْقَصَاصِ

He had the ability of writing exceedingly
long poems, making it difficult for the
reciters to commit it to memory.

In 762/1360 a cousin of Muḥammad V, Abū Sa'īd, took over power. He also was a poet.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) Dīwān Lisān, p. 348.
(2) Dīwān al-Sabāba, fol. 24.
(3) Maqālāt, fol. 3.
(4) Qarā'in, p. 43; see also, pp. 39 & 49.
(5) Nathir, p. 80.

In the ninth century of the Hijra, a great Granadine poet appeared. He was king Yūsuf III (810-820/1407-1417) whose dīwān has come down to us. Most of its contents are on the theme of vainglory. This dīwān has a special importance. It is the largest collection which has come down to us from the ninth century, and it could be considered as a collection detailing the political attitudes of a Granadine ruler in a rather obscure age. Among the verses written on the tomb of Yūsuf III were the following:⁽¹⁾

عليها من الشهب المنيرة أشباه؟!	أما كان في الآداب يبدو بلفظهم
به زان جيد العرش دُرّاً وحلّاه؟!	أما كان نظم الشعر بعض جلاله

Wasn't it he who adorned literature with
utterances which had the lustre of the
shining stars!

Wasn't it part of his greatness to write
poetry with which he ennobled his throne?!

It was also said about his literary productions that they attained a high level of clarity, and that his poetry was characterised by themes of continence and purity.⁽²⁾

"المستولي على مدى الافادة في المياز والنظم الجاري من العفاف على أبعد غاية"

Muḥammad al-Aysar was also a poet and wrote some good poetry,⁽³⁾ and it can be said that the kings of Granada continued to patronise literature until the fall of their state. 'Abd al-Bāsīt Ibn Shāhīn, who visited Granada in 870/1465 reports that Abu al-Ḥasan 'Alī the father of the last ruler of Granada was known for his patronage of learned

(1) Estudio, p. 83.

(2) Inscripciones, p. 232.

(3) Daw', vol. 10, p. 68.

men; and 'Abd al-Bāsīt himself recited to him a long poem for which he was rewarded and thanked.⁽¹⁾ Boabdil, the last king of Granada, was also interested in poetry.⁽²⁾ From several sources one can conclude that there was a special wing in the Alhambra palace assigned for the residence of writers who came from other cities for participation in local celebrations and festivities.⁽³⁾ It would seem also that the Granadine rulers were in the habit of sending invitations to poets in all parts of their kingdom to attend and take part in the official celebrations. Ibn al-Khaṭīb says that his contemporary Ibn Khātima, the famous poet of Almeria who died in the plague in 750/1349, visited Granada many times. One of these visits followed an invitation sent to him, as well as to all the nobles and writers of the country, to attend the celebrations on the occasion of the circumcision of Yūsuf I's son.⁽⁴⁾ The patronage of art and literature by the Naṣrid rulers was, it would seem, a family tradition and a continuation of the traditions of Arab rulers throughout the history of the Arabs. But the participation of the Naṣrid rulers in literary life, and their ability to compose poetry in particular apparently connected with chivalry in Granada, and the chivalric

(1) "Bāsīt/Maq." p. 327, 328.

(2) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 552 (a poem of al-'Arabī).

(3) See for example Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 146.

(4) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 244.

requirement that a fāris should be able to write poetry or at least to learn it by heart.⁽¹⁾ For this reason many Granadine rulers were praised for their ability to write poetry as well as for their valiance.

Another indication of the widespread literary activity in Granada is the great number of writers who are reported to have written extensive works of poetry or prose, such as Ibn Muqātil,⁽²⁾ and Ibn Quṭba al-Sadūsī. The latter's poetry is said to have become known all over the Islamic world, and the poet himself was compared to al - Ḥuṭai'a, because of his skill in satire.⁽³⁾ Other writers and poets of renown were Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī,⁽⁴⁾ Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Wādī Āshī,⁽⁵⁾ Abu al-Qāsim al-Burjī,⁽⁶⁾ al-Shāṭibī,⁽⁷⁾ al-Sharīf al-Ḥasanī al-Gharnāṭī,⁽⁸⁾ Ibn

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- (1) Tuhfa, pp. 76 & 81; Le Bon, p. 278; Moorish Culture, p. 93.
(2) D. in 739/1338. Nafh, vol. 6, p. 236.
(3) Nathir Farā'id, p. 319.
(4) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 342; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 109. He was a minister and court writer of Muhammad V. He died after the year 768/1366. He was taken prisoner by the Spanish ships in the Straits of Gibraltar on his way to Tlemcen carrying a message to Abū Hammū, king of Tlemcen, from King Muḥammad V of Granada.
(5) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 230. Al-Maqqarī refers to a book of Ibn al-Khaṭīb named al-Tāj in which it is mentioned that this poet wrote a great amount of poetry "wa kāna shā'iran mikthāran". It seems that he was a minister and companion of Naṣr.
(6) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 74. He was a book binder, and was sent to Egypt and Castile with letters from his King Muḥammad V.
(7) Du'ar, vol. 4, p. 310.
(8) Battuta, p. 671. He was one of Muhammad V's ministers. He wrote a commentary on Maqṣūrat Ḥāzim.

Zamrak,⁽¹⁾ Abū Ishāq al-Sāhilī,⁽²⁾ Ibn Jābir,⁽³⁾ Ibn ʿĀsim,⁽⁴⁾ al-Sharrān,⁽⁵⁾ ʿUmar al-Zajjāl⁽⁶⁾ and many others. These names cover the whole Nasrid period until the fall of Granada. There are also many sources which indicate a particularly large literary output in Granada. It is said that the people of Guadix were fond of literature and writing poetry.⁽⁷⁾ When Ibn Marzūq of Tlemcen wrote a commentary on the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad entitled al-Shifāʾ, and written by al-Qāḍī ʿIyād, he says that he sent letters to the writers of Granada and Morocco asking them to write poems in praise of the commentary, and that he received a flood of letters and poems.⁽⁸⁾ Many books on literature were compiled in the Nasrid period, and most of them discussed the literary issues of the day in Granada. There were biographies, dīwāns, accounts of pilgrimages, anthologies and works on other subjects. It seems also that the Granadine writers tried to rival each other in the number of their compilations. It is not difficult, therefore, to find

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- (1) Nathīr Farāʾid, p. 326. He was a student of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and is said to have conspired against Ibn al-Khaṭīb. See: Nafh, vol. 6, p. 77.
 - (2) Nayl, p. 235; Nafh, vol. 2, p. 194. He was a famous Granadine writer and poet. He died in 747/1346 in Māli.
 - (3) Durar, vol. 3, p. 429.
 - (4) Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 134 & 171. He wrote many books, one of which is Jannat al-Riqā....
 - (5) Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 133-134. He lived in Granada in 9th/15th century.
 - (6) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 132. A famous writer of zajal in the 9th/15th century.
 - (7) Subh, vol. 5, p. 221; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 149.
 - (8) Dīwān Lisān, p. 378.

writers who had compiled fifty books or more, such as Ibn Luyūn,⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī,⁽²⁾ Abu al-Barakāt al-Ballafīqī,⁽³⁾ Ibn Mālik the Grammarian,⁽⁴⁾ Ibn al-Fakhkhār,⁽⁵⁾ Ibn ‘Abd al-Nūr,⁽⁶⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb,⁽⁷⁾ Ibn Ḥayyān,⁽⁸⁾ al-Qalaṣādī, al-Shāṭibī, Ismā‘īl Ibn al-Aḥmar and others. A catalogue of compilations relating to the literature of the Naṣrid period in Granada would probably fill a large volume, but many of those works have not as yet been discovered, and many that have are still unpublished. Many writers compiled biographies, in which they mentioned the names of their tutors and the shaikhs they met, so much so that such compilations became a vogue in the Naṣrid period, and we have as a result the biographies (barāmij) of Ibn al-Fakhkhār,⁽⁹⁾ Ibn Salmūn,⁽¹⁰⁾ Abu al-Ḥajjāj al-Muntashāqurī,⁽¹¹⁾ Muḥammad Ibn Sa‘īd al-Ru‘ainī,⁽¹²⁾ al-Manthūrī,⁽¹³⁾ Ibn Jābir al-Wādī Āshī,⁽¹⁴⁾

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- (1) Faraj Ibn Qāsim Ibn Lubb was a teacher in the Nasrid school in Granada. He prepared abridgements of about a hundred books. He died in 783/1381 (see: Nafh, vol. 5, p. 509).
- (2) Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 346-347.
- (3) Durar, vol. 4, p. 272; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 138, 139.
- (4) Bughya, vol. 1, p. 130.
- (5) Durra, vol. 2, p. 83.
- (6) Durra, vol. 2, p. 123.
- (7) Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 97-103.
- (8) Nafh, vol. 2, p. 552; Fawāt, vol. 2, p. 561.
- (9) Durra, vol. 2, p. 86.
- (10) Marqaba, p. 167.
- (11) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 135.
- (12) D. 778/1376 (Nafh, vol. 2, p. 560).
- (13) D. 834/1430 (Durra, vol. 2, p. 287). There is a manuscript of the barnāmaj or fihris of Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Malik al-Qaisī in Al-Khizāna al-Malakiyya, Rabāt - no. 1578.
- (14) His work has been published by Muḥammad Maḥfūz, Beirut, 1980.

Abū Zakariyyā al-Sarrāj,⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad al-Majārī (d. 862/1457)* and others. Granadine writers used also to write down accounts of their pilgrimages and travels. Best known in this field were Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī,⁽²⁾ Abu al-Barakāt al-Ballafīqī, Ibn Rushaid,⁽³⁾ al-ʿAbdarī,⁽⁴⁾ Khālīd Ibn ʿIsā al-Balawī,⁽⁵⁾ Ibn Jābir, al-Qāsim Ibn Yūsuf al-Tujībī, al-Qalaṣādī⁽⁶⁾ (d. 891/1486) and others. Biographical accounts and descriptions of pilgrimages contained a considerable amount of literary material. On the other hand one can find that the compilations about pilgrimages contain rich narrative elements. A large number of literary collections and works have come down to us from the Nasrid period, both of poetry and prose. Among these one can mention the dīwān of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and his prose works, the dīwān of Ibn Ḥayyān, the dīwān of al-Jayyāb⁽⁷⁾ and his prose works, the dīwān

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- (1) MS in al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma-Rabat (No. 1242K) and in the National Library, Paris, no. 758.
 (*) His work has been published by M. Abu al-Ajfan, Beirut, 1982.
 (2) His account of his pilgrimage is known as: Fayd al-ʿUbāb. MS. no: 3267 in the Royal Library-Rabat.
 (3) MS. in Escorial. no. 1739 (1-5).
 (4) See: Nafh, vol. 2, pp. 483 & 589.
 (5) MS. no. 1053 geography in Dār al-Kutub-Egypt.
 (6) The account of his pilgrimage has been edited by Muḥammad Abu al-Ajfan, Tunisia, 1978.
 (7) MS. in Dār al-Kutub al-Misriyya, supposed to have been edited and published by Muḥammad R. al-Dāyeh, I have not been able to see the edition of this work. But a Ph. D. thesis on Ibn al-Jayyāb prepared by Jesus Rubiera Mata at the University of Madrid and entitled Ibn al-Ḥayyāb el otro poeta de la Alhambra has now been published, Madrid, 1982. 47 poems of Ibn al-Jayyāb are appended to this edition.

of Ibn Jābir,⁽¹⁾ the dīwān of al-Ghassānī,⁽²⁾ the dīwān of Yūsuf III, Qarā'in al-ʿAsr of Ibn al-Hājj al-Numairī,⁽³⁾ the dīwān of Ibn Khātima, together with another collection of his poetry entitled Rā'iq al-Taḥliya compiled by his pupil Ibn Zarqāla, and the dīwān of ʿAbd al-Karīm Ibn Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qaisī.⁽⁴⁾ Many other compilations, collections, and dīwāns have perhaps been completely lost to us such as Abyāt al-Abyāt of Ibn al-Khaṭīb,⁽⁵⁾ the dīwān of Ibn Khamīs,⁽⁶⁾ the dīwān of al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī,⁽⁷⁾ the dīwān of Ibn Ṣafwān,⁽⁸⁾ the dīwān of al-Ballaḥīqī,⁽⁹⁾ Anmāt al-Wasā'il fi al-Qarīd wal-Khutab wal-Rasā'il of al-Ghassānī al-Jilyānī,⁽¹⁰⁾ the dīwān⁽¹¹⁾ and the maqāmāt⁽¹²⁾ of Abu al-Baqā' Ṣāliḥ Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī, the texts of the truces concluded between Granada and Castile composed by Ibn Zamrak,⁽¹³⁾ the dīwān of Abū Bakr al-Qaisī,⁽¹⁴⁾ the dīwān of Abu al-Hajjāj al-Muntashāqurī,⁽¹⁵⁾ the dīwān of King Muḥammad III,⁽¹⁶⁾ the

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- (1) MS. in the library of H.H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb-Tunisia. no. 18038.
 (2) MS. in Maḥad al-Makhtūtāt/Egypt.
 (3) MS. in the British Museum no. or. 5670.
 (4) MS. no 198/2 in al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma, Rabat. ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Qaisī was still alive in 836/1432.
 (5) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 463.
 (6) Nafh, vol. 5, p. 361.
 (7) Marqaba, p. 71; Wafayāt Ibn Qunfud, p. 362; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 197.
 (8) Dibāj, p. 43; Durra, vol. 1, p. 78; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 40.
 (9) Iḥāṭa, vol. 2, p. 148; Marqaba, p. 156; Nayl, p. 254; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 473 & vol. 6, p. 88.
 (10) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 329. (11) Iḥāṭa, MS. fol. 67.
 (12) Iḥāṭa.
 (13) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 267. I have not been able to trace the dīwān of Ibn Zamrak which I am told by Professor J.D. Latham (of the University of Manchester) has been discovered in Tunisia and edited by Tawfiq Nayfar.
 (14) Durra, vol. 1, p. 132. (15) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 134.
 (16) Lamḥa, p. 61 & Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 545.

dīwān of Yūsuf Ibn Mūsā al-Rundī (d. 782/1380),⁽¹⁾ the dīwān of Ibn Shibrīn,⁽²⁾ the dīwān of Yaḥyā Ibn Hudhail,⁽³⁾ the dīwān of Ibn ʿAbd al-Nūr,⁽⁴⁾ the dīwān of Ibn Luyūn,⁽⁵⁾ the poetry and prose works of Abū ʿAlī al-Qījāṭī (d. 730/1329),⁽⁶⁾ the poems, maqāmāt (i.e. assemblies), zajals and muwashshahs of ʿUmar al-Zajjāl,⁽⁷⁾ and other poetic and prose works.

The fields of poetry and letter writing were not the only literary fields cultivated by the Granadine writers in the Nasrid era. Muwashshahs, zajals, and maqāmas seem also to have been widely cultivated. It has been a subject of controversy among scholars whether the muwashshah and zajal had a wide vogue or not in the Nasrid period. Gibb says that the muwashshah had died out in Granada by the end of the fourteenth century.⁽⁸⁾ In introducing one of his muwashshahs, Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:⁽⁹⁾

"وما قلته من الموشحات التي انفرد باختراعها الأندلسيون وطمس الآن رسمها..."

"This is a poem I composed in the muwashshah style which was invented by the Andalusians and which is now well-high forgotten..."

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- (1) Durra, vol. 5, p. 245.
(2) Durar, vol. 3, p. 439; Iḥāṭa, vol. 2, p. 240.
(3) Iḥāṭa, MS, fol. 159; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 488.
(4) Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 199.
(5) Nafh, vol. 5, p. 543.
(6) Nafh, vol. 5, p. 507.
(7) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 116.
(8) Gibb, p. 150.
(9) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 65; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 314.

On the other hand, Ibn Khaldūn, who lived in Granada around the middle of the fourteenth century, reports that the zajal was very popular in Granada, and that the Granadine people wrote zajals in the fifteen poetical metres (buhūr), but in the colloquial language, and they called it zajal poetry.⁽¹⁾ Gonzalez Palencia⁽²⁾ believes also that the arts of the muwashshah and zajal prove their continued presence in Granada in the Nasrid era. He says that "even in the kingdom of Granada, the people were fond of this poetical art. Many writers and learned men such as Ibn Ḥayyān the Grammarian, Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīm of Guadix, Ibn Zamrak, who was known for his alboradas (i.e. the muwashshahs on early morning themes) and Dhu al-Wizāratain Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the famous poet and writer, also wrote in this form." Nykl comments on the statement of Ibn Khaldūn saying that "Ibn Khaldūn's statement that zajal was very popular at Granada during his stay there confirms the existence of a vigorous continuation of a tradition which started with Akḥṭal Ibn Numāra at the close of the XI th century...".⁽³⁾

Whatever the disagreement among scholars over this matter, one can find through the muwashshahs and zajals which have come down to us from the Nasrid period, and through the many names of poets who wrote in these poetic forms, that the

(1) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 219.

(2) Palencia, p. 166.

(3) Nykl, p. 357.

muwashshah and zajal flourished remarkably in the Nasrid era. There were many muwashshah and zajal writers, such as Ibn al-Khatīb, whose muwashshahs and zajals, as Ibn Khaldūn reports, were numerous, and who was the most brilliant writer in this form in his day.⁽¹⁾ Many of Ibn al-Khatīb's muwashshahs and zajals have come down to us.⁽²⁾ Ibn Zamrak wrote a great number of muwashshahs and zajals, and many of his compositions in this field are available.⁽³⁾ Mālik Ibn al-Murāḥḥal,⁽⁴⁾ Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Lūshī,⁽⁵⁾ Ibn 'Amīr,⁽⁶⁾ Ibn Jābir,⁽⁷⁾ Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-'Uqailī,⁽⁸⁾ Ibn Khātima⁽⁹⁾ Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīm,⁽¹⁰⁾ 'Umar al-Zajjāl,⁽¹¹⁾ and others wrote muwashshahs and zajals. Al-Maqqarī says referring to 'Umar al-Zajjāl, who was still alive around the middle of the 9th/15th century in Málaga, "He is very well-known, and his zajals, poems, and maqāmas are learnt by heart by the common people, but shunned by the people of the upper classes".⁽¹²⁾

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- (1) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 5.
 (2) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 314; Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 11, 66 & 68.
 (3) Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 240-265 & 280; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 177-204.
 (4) Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 453-459.
 (5) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 219.
 (6) Ibid, vol. 2, p. 219.
 (7) Nafh, vol. 2, p. 666.
 (8) Al-Maqqarī reports that al-'Arabī al-'Uqailī, who witnessed the fall of Granada in 1492 A.D., was a distinguished writer of muwashshahs. Nafh, vol. 4, p. 550.
 (9) Diwān Ibn Khātima, pp. 143-179; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 24.
 (10) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 218.
 (11) Ibid, vol. 1, p. 116.
 (12) Ibid, vol. 1, p. 116.

Some muwashshah and zajal works have been collected in anthologies such as Jaysh al-Tawshih⁽¹⁾ of Lisān al - Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb and ‘Uddat al-Jalīs⁽²⁾ of Ibn Bushrā. Besides, many dīwāns of the period have complete sections of muwashshahs and zajals. In the light of all this, the Nasrid period might be viewed as one of the rich literary periods in muwashshah and zajal writing.

The muwashshah and the zajal were used for varied poetical purposes. The Granadine writers used them for the description of battles, eulogy, elegy, reminiscences, congratulations, ghazal, descriptions of nature, praise of the Prophet and other purposes. Some of their muwashshahs and zajals seem to have neglected the rules of the muwashshah, especially in the specified number of the strophes. Monroe comments on this phenomenon saying that "the undue length indicates that by now the muwashshah form had been almost completely reabsorbed into the qaṣīda, and that the only difference between the two forms was the variety of rhymes in the former".⁽³⁾ It would seem that the Granadine writers who used to write very long poems and messages felt uneasy about writing few strophes in each muwashshah, and thus they liberated their muwashshahs from the standard traditional rules to make them as long as their poems and literary epistles.

(1) Published by H. Nājī, Tunis, 1967.

(2) Sections of this work are published in Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco, by E. García Gómez, Barcelona, 1975.

(3) Monroe, p. 64.

The maqāma genre appears also to have been extensively cultivated in the Naṣrid period. Many of the maqāmas of that period are available, and many comments have been made concerning the continuation of writing in that genre. Ibn al-Khaṭīb reports that Ṣāliḥ Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī (d. 684/1285) "wrote marvellous maqāmas on different subjects, and that his poetical and prose works have been collected".⁽¹⁾ In the eighth century of the Hijra, a number of maqāma writers appeared. Ibn al-Ḥasan al-Nubāḥī al-Mālaqī, the qādī of Granada during the reign of Muḥammad V, wrote al-Maqāma al-Nakhliyya. This maqāma consists of a dialogue between a grapevine and a palm tree in which the writer discussed literary, grammatical and historical matters, such as the history of the Naṣrid rulers. He entitled his maqāma Nuzhat al-Baṣā'ir wal-Absār.⁽²⁾ Muḥammad Ibn al-Murābi' al-Azdī (d. 750/1349 in the plague) was a famous writer in the maqāma

(1) Ihāta, MS. fol. 67.

(2) The section on the Naṣrid history of this work was edited by M.J. Müller in his book: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Westlichen Arber (t. 1, München 1866), pp. 101-138. Manuscripts of this work are available in the Escorial library, MS. no. 1653, and among the awqāf manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Generale et Archives in Rabat, no. Q 328, and 198. See also the introduction of Margaba, p. 1, and "Andalusian Maqāmāt", p. 88. Al-Mālaqī wrote another maqāma known as al-Iklīl fī Tafdīl al-Nakhīl. See Müller, pp. 139-160. It consists of a dialogue between the author and the palm tree standing opposite the Ibn Samā'a gate in Granada. It reflects some critical, political and social attitudes of al-Nubāḥī al-Mālaqī.

genre.⁽¹⁾ One of his maqāmas is al-Maqāma al-ʿIdiyya.⁽²⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote numerous maqāmas. Many of these maqāmas are descriptive ones in which he describes the Andalusian and African cities. Of his works in this genre is the maqāma known as Miʿyār al-Ikhtibār fī Dhikr al-Maʾāhid wal-Diyār.⁽³⁾ Another descriptive maqāma of Ibn al-Khaṭīb is the one known as Khatrat al-Taif wa Rihlat al-Shitāʾ wal-Saif in which he describes an inspection tour undertaken by king Yūsuf I and the author of this maqāma, as his vizier.⁽⁴⁾ He also wrote political maqāmas such as Maqāmat al-Siyāsa.⁽⁵⁾ Many of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's maqāmas are appended to his book Rayḥānat al-Kuttāb.⁽⁶⁾

One of the famous writers in the maqāma genre in the ninth/fifteenth century is ʿUmar al-Zajjāl of Malaga. We are told by al-Maqqarī that the common people of Granada learned his maqāmas by heart.⁽⁷⁾ His maqāma named Tasrīh

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- (1) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 104; Dīwān Lisān, p. 248.
 (2) It was edited by Ahmad Mukhtār al-ʿAbbādī and published in Journal of the Egyptian Institute, 11, 1954, 159-173, and in Granja's book Maqāmas y risālas andaluzas, pp. 173-199.
 (3) This maqāma is a description of Granadine and Moroccan cities. The part relating to Granada has been published by F. Simonet in his book: Descripcion del reino de Granada, Madrid, 1860. The part relating to Morocco has been edited by Müller, pp. 47-99. The whole maqama has been published by Ahmad. M. al-ʿAbbādī in his book: Mushāhadāt Lisān al-Dīn, p. 75-. See also: Nafh, vol. 1, p. 209.
 (4) Müller, pp. 14-40.
 (5) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 431.
 (6) Ibid, vol. 7, p. 99.
 (7) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 116.

al-Nisāl⁽¹⁾ is full of social and political criticism.

This type of criticism characterised most of his writings, and this might have been the reason why they were neglected or deliberately overlooked by the upper classes in Granada.⁽²⁾

His maqāma known as Maqāmat al-Wabā' (i.e. the maqāma of the plague) is warm invitation to his King Muḥammad al-Aysar to flee to Malaga from Granada in order to avoid the danger of the plague which struck Granada in 844/1440.⁽³⁾

It might have been observed that the maqāma genre was used to a good extent for educational purposes, just as the urjūzas were widely used in Granada as an educational medium. The difference between maqāma and urjūza is that the maqāma remained full of maxims, images and puns, while the urjūza was used to convey pure science and learning. The field of the urjūza was also wider than that of the maqāma since all the sciences of that age such as logic, politics, history, grammar, jurisprudence, astronomy, chemistry, mathematics and others were exposed and elucidated in the form of scientific urjūzas. It seems to have been an educational requirement in the Naṣrid times that every teacher should compose urjūzas on the subject of his study. This may indicate the care the masters took to save their students the trouble of having to refer to the larger works

(1) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 116; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 40.

(2) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 116.

(3) Ibid, vol. 1, p. 125. This maqāma is studied and published by Granja in his book Maqāmas y risālas andaluzas, pp. 201-230.

on the various subjects, and their attempt to facilitate the learning of the main rules of any of the sciences by heart.

This widespread interest in writing and compilation brought forth the establishment of private and public libraries in many parts of Granada. Many Granadine people worked in the book trade and in book binding.⁽¹⁾ One of the greatest libraries in Granada was the royal library in the Alhambra to which the kings of Banū Naṣr used to appoint a special keeper and organizer.⁽²⁾ It seems that the size of that library kept increasing day by day, because of the numerous books written and presented to the Naṣrid rulers. Ibn Hudhail says in the introduction to his book Tuhfat al-Anfus that the Granadine authors used to present their compilations in all fields to their kings, and that he wrote his books on the arts of chivalry and warfare for his king Muḥammad V.⁽³⁾

The Granadine people also rivalled each other in acquiring as many books as possible,⁽⁴⁾ and when any new book appeared in the market, every one of those who had

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- (1) See Durra, vol. 1, p. 265; Durar, vol. 4, p. 338 & vol. 5, p. 241; Katiba, p. 90; Bughya, vol. 1, p. 46; Jadhwa, p. 105; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 69.
(2) See Bughya, vol. 1, p. 46.
(3) Tuhfa, p. 3.
(4) See: Nayl, p. 123.

libraries hastened to secure his own copy of it. There are clear indications that many Granadine people founded private libraries. Ibn al-Qāḍī reports that "the dīwān of Ahmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Qaisī was not available in any of the book-keepers' libraries, because (the author) tended to use far-fetched and unusual terms"⁽¹⁾

"كان يميل فيه الى التعمق والألفاظ الوحشية فخلت منه خزائن الحفاظ"

We are also told that Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥakīm (d. 708/1308) "was fond of book acquisition"⁽²⁾ and that he "exceeded the usual bounds in the acquisition of books which filled his palaces and enriched his reception rooms".⁽³⁾

"أفرط في اقتناء الكتب حتى ضاقت قصوره عن خزائنها وأثرت انديته من ذخائرها"

Abu al-Qāsim Ibn Juzaiy (d. 741/1340), it was also pointed out, was "fond of acquiring books, and seems to have possessed a library which looked like a royal one"⁽⁴⁾

"وكان جماعة للكتب ملوكي الخزانة"

Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad al-Judhāmī also "possessed a very large quantity of books".⁽⁵⁾

"عنده كتب كثيرة جدًا"

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- (1) Durra, vol. 1, p. 132. Al-Qaisī was a poet and a judge from Almeria and died in 745 A.H. See Durra, vol. 1, p. 132, Katība, pp. 156-157.
(2) Durra, vol. 2, p. 94.
(3) Nafh, vol. 5, p. 504; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 446.
(4) Dībaj, p. 295; Azhār, vol. 3, p. 184.
(5) Durar, vol. 4, p. 313.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes the library of Ibn Luyūn saying that "his property is just a library which has brought together the main sources (lit. fathers and mothers), the easy and the difficult (lit. the calf and the oryx), the edifying and weighty and the light and trivial"⁽¹⁾

"بضاعته خزانة كتب جمعت الآباء والأمهات والفرقد والمهابة والحقائق والترهات"

It is said also that Ibn Ḥarbala possessed a library which housed numerous volumes on a wide range of subjects.⁽²⁾

"توفي عن خزانة كتب أسفارها عديدة وأغراضها سديدة"

Ibn Zarqāla talks about himself saying that he was fond of literature and of the acquisition of its outstanding works.⁽³⁾

Such an interest in the compilation and acquisition of books would no doubt indicate an active literary and scientific life in Granada, a matter which leaves us with the general impression that literature in the Nasrid era was not inferior to it at any other time in Andalusian history.

One can also observe that literature was closely connected with the public affairs of the Granadine people, and was to a large extent shaped and coloured by the social, martial and political environment. It might have gained in

(1) Katība, p. 86.
(2) Ibid, p. 53.
(3) Rā'iq, p. 28.

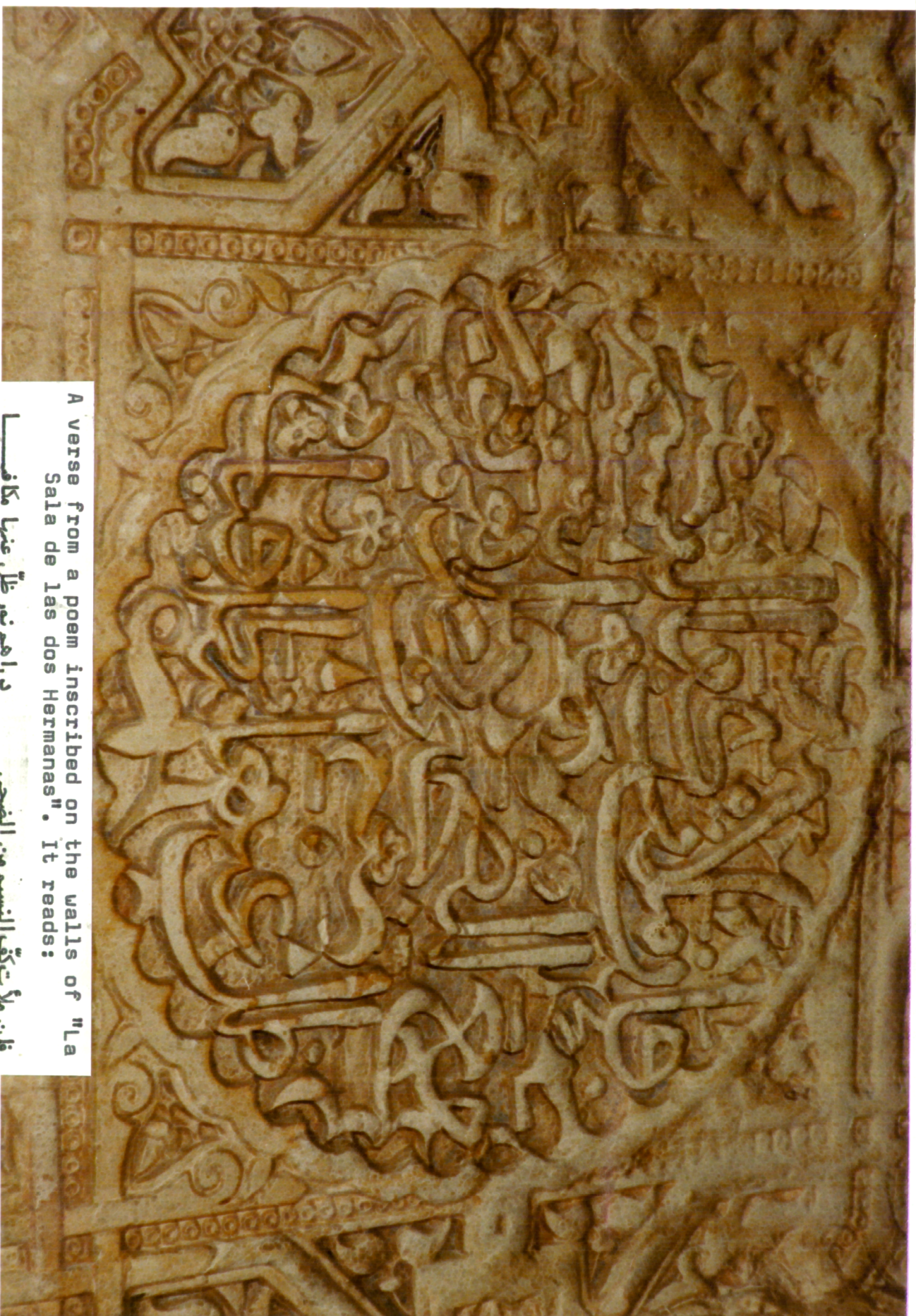
value and importance when all ranks of people appeared to have taken part in writing poetry and prose. Women also made their contribution to literature.⁽¹⁾

There is yet another phenomenon worth mentioning here, and that is the poetic and prose inscriptions in Islamic Granada, which in their own way still form a large literary collection spanning many generations of the Nasrid period. Many of these inscriptions are still to be seen on the walls, doors, windows, and different parts of Alhambra. A common mistake is made, however, concerning the attribution of these inscriptions. Many scholars largely attribute them to Ibn Zamrak who lived in Granada in the reign of Muḥammad V and his son Yūsuf II.⁽²⁾ In actual fact the share of Ibn Zamrak in these inscriptions was not more than that of Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn al-Khaṭīb or king Yūsuf III. That is because those literary inscriptions were written by different writers and in different times since the founding of the Alhambra until the fall of Granada.⁽³⁾ The mistake may have arisen

(1) See Durar, vol. 5, p. 167; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 430 & MS. fol. 141.

(2) See: Alhambra, p. 170; Provençal, p. 18; Gómez, p. 72; The Alhambra, by Desmond Stewart, p. 140; Watt, p. 156; Monroe, p. 65; Nykl, p. 367; "T.B. Irving," p. 191; Palencia, p. 141, and others.

(3) For the inscriptions of Ibn al-Jayyāb see: Al-Andalus, vol. 35, p. 453. Jesus Rubiera Mata in her recently published thesis on Ibn al-Jayyāb has included a number of his poems which appear in inscriptions in the Alhambra. See Ibn al-Jayyāb, pp. 145-150. For those of Ibn al-Khaṭīb see: Diwān Lisān, pp. 261, 347 and other pages. For those of Yūsuf III see: Diwān Yūsuf, pp. 68, 69, 131, 143, 208,...



A verse from a poem inscribed on the walls of "La Sala de las dos Hermanas". It reads:

دراهم نور ظل عنها مكافيا

فان ملأتكف النسيم من الضحى

from a document written by Ibn Zamrak in which he says, referring to king Muhammad V, : "I served him thirty seven years; three in Morocco and the rest in Andalusia, during which I wrote and recited to him sixty six poems on the occasion of sixty six festivals, and all that is seen inscribed in his happy residences, in palaces and gardens, on domes, windows and clothes is composed by me".⁽¹⁾ The book of García Gómez entitled Ibn Zamrak el poeta de la Alhambra⁽²⁾ may have reinforced the notion or general belief just referred to.

Poetry was inscribed on many walls, doors, windows and copulas. Each leaf of a door or window had verses complementing those on the other.⁽³⁾ These inscriptions were to be seen also on the gates of public buildings such as schools, hospitals, gardens, mosques, courtyards and other buildings.⁽⁴⁾ Many poems were also inscribed on the walls of the public baths, fountains, pools, basins for ritual ablution and jugs.⁽⁵⁾ It was a common habit to

(1) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 167.

(2) Third edition, Granada, 1975.

(3) For examples see: Estudio, pp. 18, 47, 51, 107, 151, 153, 156 & 204-206; Inscripciones, pp. 95, 96, 98, 179-182, 189-190 & 204; Istī'āb, pp. 5-21; Diwān Yūsuf, pp. 68, 69 & 143.

(4) See the verses of Ibn al-Khaṭīb on the gate of the school of Granada in: Nafh, vol. 6, p. 482. See the verses of Ibn al-Jayyāb on the gate of the school in: Nafh, vol. 5, p. 457; Ibn al-Jayyāb, p. 145. See also what is written on the gate of the hospital of Granada in Inscripciones, pp. 172-173; Estudio, p. 144. See also: Estudio, p. 23.

(5) For examples see: Estudio, pp. 72, 117 & 121-122; Alhambra, p. 171; Crestomatia, p. 129; Ibn al-Jayyāb, p. 146.

embroider clothes,⁽¹⁾ beds, bedsteads,⁽²⁾ dining tables,⁽³⁾ pens,⁽⁴⁾ royal fans,⁽⁵⁾ sheaths,⁽⁶⁾ swords,⁽⁷⁾ shields,⁽⁸⁾ knives,⁽⁹⁾ bows⁽¹⁰⁾ and furniture with verses of poetry. Most of the poetical inscriptions are laudatory in which the Granadine poets praise the Nasrid rulers and their valiance in overcoming their enemies. Although the Arabic script was used in embellishing the walls of palaces for a long time, one may ask about the reason for the excessive use of poetry in the inscriptions in the Nasrid era. The answer would seem to be found in the martial and political circumstances in Granada. The people of Granada seem to have always felt the need to urge their rulers to defend them against the danger of Spanish attacks. Consequently, they sent warm appeals to that effect on every possible occasion. As time went on, the danger loomed larger and the Granadine rulers were distracted by many preoccupations other than the Spanish danger. The Granadine writers therefore implored their rulers in their verses to keep a constant watch. They wrote those appeals on the walls of the ruler's sitting

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- (1) Dīwān Lisān, pp. 360 & 459.
(2) Dīwān Lisān, pp. 470 & 544.
(3) Dīwān Lisān, p. 462.
(4) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 110.
(5) Dīwān Lisān, p. 512; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 308.
(6) Dīwān Lisān, pp. 512 & 458; Dīwān Yūsuf, p. 136.
(7) Nafh, vol. 2, p. 700.
(8) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 118.
(9) For examples : Dīwān Lisān, pp. 344 & 387; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 110.
(10) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 464.

room; they wrote them also on the leaves of the doors where he always passed and on the windows from where he took in the fresh air. They also wrote the verses on the fountains where the ruler washed before prayer, and on the jugs he used for the purpose, on his dining table, where he sat for meals three times a day, and on his bed where he sought rest from all political trouble. Verses were also inscribed on the sheaths of swords, and written even on the ruler's clothes. The people wanted to draw the ruler's attention to the surrounding danger at all times. This was dictated by their fears and deep-seated anxiety for the future of their country. This also made them feel that they were in a constant need for a saviour. This fear in turn might have also been the reason for the people's support of revolutions in Granada, just as it might explain why they expelled Muḥammad V for example, and invited him back again, why they expelled Muḥammad al-Aysar twice and supported him to secure the throne of Granada for three times, or why, in short, they supported their rulers at one time and revolted against them at another. It might be also that the Granadine poets wanted, by inscribing their poetry, to imitate the tradition concerning the pre-Islamic mu'allaqāt, and not only for the purpose of imitation, but also as a reminder of the glories of the Arab past. The Naṣrids' patronage and love of literature is perhaps another reason for embellishing their palaces and furniture with poetry.

The interaction between literature and public life concentrated mostly on the political and martial life, because political and martial events followed each other in a quick succession, and attracted the attention of the Granadine people who lived a life affected deeply by these events. There was in Granada, for instance, a college for the military sciences,⁽¹⁾ and a number of books on chivalry and warfare were compiled to serve the purpose of the courses followed there, such as the books of 'Alī Ibn Hudhail. In a letter to prince 'Ajlān of Mecca, Muḥammad V indicated his great interest in the teaching of the military sciences and in training all his subjects saying⁽²⁾: "The boys are being trained in the use of arms, and taught the stipulations of a holy war (jihād), just as they learn to read the Quran." Muḥammad V also wrote in a letter to Ibn Qalawūn, king of Egypt:⁽³⁾

"والصبيان في المكاتب تدرب على مواقف الجهاد"

"School boys are being trained in the requirements of holy war".

The sports of the Granadines were also of a martial nature, such as chivalric tournaments, archery, contests, army reviews, hunting and bullfighting.*

(1) McCabe, p. 252.

(2) Subn, vol. 7, p. 47.

(3) Ibid, vol. 8, p. 111.

(*) For references to bullfighting in Granada see: Nafh, vol. 6, p. 456, vol. 7, pp. 184 & 213; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 60 & 119.

This sort of life seems to have left its mark on the literary life. The political events were the subject of discussion of many meetings held either by the inhabitants or by the court writers.⁽¹⁾ The poetry which was learnt by heart was of a political nature like the poetry of Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī.⁽²⁾ The interaction between literature and the political life can be deduced from several other phenomena. The first is that most of the poetry and the prose which have come down to us from the Nasrid period is of a political and martial nature. The second is that many poets and men of letters played an active part in the political and martial events, a matter which makes the literature of those writers have more of a historical than literary value. The writers' participation in political life took many forms. They were often asked to fill governmental offices, and were given important positions. That was necessitated by certain factors such as the government's need for important secretarial work which could not be competently carried out except by those who had a certain level of writing skills.

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- (1) For examples see: Lamḥa, p. 51; Iḥāta, vol. 1, p. 558; Wāfi, vol. 1, p. 207; Diwān Lisān, p. 619; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 192; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 60.
- (2) See Nafh, vol. 3, p. 303; Diwān Yūsuf, p. 195; "Abū al-Baqā' al-Rundī wa Kitābuhū al-Wāfi fī Nazm al-Qawāfi," by A. Gannūn Majallat Maḥad al-Dirāsāt al-Islāmiyya, Madrid, vol. 6, 1958, pp. 205-220.

The second factor is that the Nasrid rulers were poets and lovers of literature, which made them give priority in filling the important offices to distinguished writers. Literature was still also one of the favoured forms of entertainment for kings, and consequently, many of their court companions were skilled writers and poets. Policy and diplomatic relations between Granada and many neighbouring countries needed efficient and capable secretaries to put the right word in the right place. Finally, literature was still also the normal mean of communication between the rulers and their subjects, and the link was mostly established through ministers, officials and writers. On account of these, and other various factors one finds that the vast majority of Granadine ministers, prime ministers, leaders and high ranking officials were brilliant poets and men of letters. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who classified the poets of Granada in the eighth/fourteenth century according to their ability and prominence, said that the poets of the kings' courts were usually the top literary figures.⁽¹⁾ The student of Granadine literature and history would easily find a great number of writers who played effective roles in the political and martial life of the state, such as Ibn al-Ḥakīm, Ibn al-Maḥrūq, Ibn al-Ḥājj, Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn 'Āṣim and others.

(1) Katība, p. 158.

The various political relations between Granada and other Spanish and Arab countries created the need for skilled and eloquent ambassadors who could by their ability lead successful and fruitful embassies. Otherwise, they ran the risk of inflicting some harm on their country's interests. The Naṣrid rulers were, therefore, dependent on able and distinguished writers to lead the embassies, such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khaldūn,⁽¹⁾ al-Sharīf al-Gharnāṭī,⁽²⁾ Ibn Zamrak,⁽³⁾ Ibn Lubb,⁽⁴⁾ Ibn 'Abd al-Barr al-Khawlānī,⁽⁵⁾ Abū al-Barakāt al-Ballafīqī,⁽⁶⁾ Ibn al-Fakhkhār al-Ilbīrī,⁽⁷⁾ Ibn 'Ābid al-Anṣārī,⁽⁸⁾ Muḥammad Ibn Yahyā al-Ghassānī al-Burjī,⁽⁹⁾ and Ibn 'Ayshūn.⁽¹⁰⁾ When Muslim Granada was breathing its last, Granadine learned men and writers played a crucial part in the attempts made to avert the final calamity. Some writers, such as Abū Yahyā Ibn 'Āṣim,⁽¹¹⁾ tried to reunite the Muslims of Granada. Others tried to secure help from other Islamic countries as did 'Alī Ibn Muḥammad al-Qalaṣādī,⁽¹²⁾ who, as

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- (1) 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 637; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 191.
 - (2) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 181.
 - (3) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 17.
 - (4) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 437.
 - (5) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 324.
 - (6) Remiro, p. 312.
 - (7) Bughya, vol. 1, p. 174.
 - (8) Nuzha, p. 118.
 - (9) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 300; Nayl, p. 267; Jadhwa, p. 197; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 74.
 - (10) Ihāta, MS. fol. 4.
 - (11) Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 151-152; Azhār, vol. 3, p. 322.
 - (12) Durra, vol. 3, p. 251.

al-Maqqarī says, "went to Tlemcen after the fall of Granada, then departed for the East, entered Egypt and sought the aid of Sultan Qa'itbay for recapturing Andalusia. But he was like one asking for the impossible. He then went on the pilgrimage to Mecca, and returned to Egypt renewing his requests for help. The authorities diplomatically turned him out of Egypt by appointing him as qādī al-quḍāt (chief judge) in Jerusalem"⁽¹⁾

As a result of the high positions given to writers, many of them fell victim to the internal political changes and intrigues. They suffered imprisonment, expatriation and murder. Ibn al-Maḥrūq,⁽²⁾ Ibn Khamīs,⁽³⁾ Ibn 'Arafa,⁽⁴⁾ Ibn al-Ḥakīm,⁽⁵⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb,⁽⁶⁾ Ibn Zamrak,⁽⁷⁾ Ibn 'Āsim⁽⁸⁾ and many others were killed as a result of internal feuds and disputes.

On the martial side many writers were able to lead armies and navies; Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī reports that Ṣāliḥ Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī, the famous poet of the seventh/thirteenth century "was consulted concerning the abilities of army leaders."⁽⁹⁾ Muḥammad Ibn Shalbatūr (d. 755/1354)

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- (1) Nafh, vol. 2, p. 702.
(2) Iḥāṭa, vol. 2, p. 136.
(3) Bughyat al-Ruwād, vol. 1, p. 139.
(4) Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 278.
(5) Iḥāṭa, vol. 2, p. 244, 249, 'Ibar, vol. 4, p. 372.
(6) Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 110-111.
(7) Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 162-170.
(8) Nayl, p. 313; Azhār, vol. 3, p. 322.
(9) Masālik, MS. vol. 16, fol. 149.

was acquainted with sailing and leading the navies, and he is reputed to have taken the place of his uncle in naval leadership and to have led the navy of Almuñecar for a while.⁽¹⁾ Many soldiers and knights were competent at writing both poetry and prose. This phenomenon might have been related to the traditions of chivalry which were widely spread in Granada. Many scholars believe that poetic genius was considered one of the basic constituents of chivalry.⁽²⁾ Numerous biographies of the Nasrid era attest to the fact that many people were good at both chivalry and writing poetry. People like Muḥammad Ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Balawī (d. 737/1336),⁽³⁾ Muḥammad Ibn al-Jannān,⁽⁴⁾ Muḥammad Ibn Qutba,⁽⁵⁾ Ibn Khalaf al-Jazarī,⁽⁶⁾ ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad al-Iyādī,⁽⁷⁾ Ibrāhīm Ibn Abī al-Faṭḥ al-Fihri,⁽⁸⁾ and many others were well qualified both in jousting and in writing poetry. Many writers accompanied the military campaigns, and this might well have been for evoking images of the glorious past when poets used to accompany the armies, reciting and singing their martial poetry in order to rouse the fursān.⁽⁹⁾ It is said that ‘Umar Ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the

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- (1) Iḥāṭa, vol. 2, pp. 360 & 364; Durra, vol. 2, p. 89; Nafḥ, vol. 6, pp. 82 & 84.
(2) Tuhfa, pp. 76-81; Moorish Culture, p. 93; Le Bon, p. 278.
(3) Durar, vol. 4, p. 119.
(4) Nathīr Farā'id, p. 332.
(5) Iḥāṭa, vol. 2, pp. 250 & 251.
(6) Katība, p. 205; Durar, vol. 1, p. 105.
(7) Durra, vol. 3, p. 43.
(8) Durar, vol. 1, p. 76.
(9) Muqaddima, vol. 2, p. 635.

second Muslim caliph, gave poets and orators their rewards and ordered them to join the Muslim armies in Syria to incite the men to fight.⁽¹⁾ Among the Granadine writers who accompanied the armies and took part in fighting, one can find the names of Abu al-Ḥajjāj al-Muntashāqurī,⁽²⁾ Abū Zakariyyā Yahyā Ibn al-Sarrāj,⁽³⁾ Abū Bakr Ibn al-Ḥakīm,⁽⁴⁾ and others. Poets also used to recite whole poems on the way to battle. One such poem was that of Yūsuf III recited on his way to attack Zahara fortress. It begins with the verse:⁽⁵⁾

يَكْرُ الْفَتْوحِ وَصَنَعُ اللَّهِ مُرْتَقِبٌ تُمْلِي عَجَائِبُهُ الْأَيَّامُ وَالْحَقُّبُ

"It is the first of conquests, the grace
of God is expected. His miracles will
become apparent in the course of time"

Another example is the poem which was written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb on the way to Gibraltar to help subdue the rebellion of Sulaimān Ibn Dawūd,⁽⁶⁾ and his poem recited during the Muslim conquest of Estepa in 743/1342.⁽⁷⁾ During Alfonso XI's siege of Gibraltar in 750/1349 Ibn al-Khaṭīb was the only official who sat beside king Yūsuf I, trying to raise his hopes and keep up his morale.⁽⁸⁾

(1) Tuhfa, p. 29.

(2) Kaṭība, p. 120.

(3) Ibid, p. 124.

(4) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 345; Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 497-498.

(5) Diwān Yūsuf, p. 6. The Arabic name of Zahara is al-Ṣakhra

(6) Diwān Lisān, p. 449.

(7) Ibid, p. 565.

(8) Ihāta, MS. fol. 154; Badā'i', vol. 2, p. 588.

The participation of writers in battles often ended with the capture or death of many of them. Ibn al-Hājj al-Numairī⁽¹⁾ and Muḥammad Ibn Mālik⁽²⁾ were taken captives. A great number of poets and men of letters fell on the battlefield. Among these were Ibn Khalaf al-Jazarī (d. 730/1329),⁽³⁾ Muḥammad Ibn ‘Alī Ibn Hānī (d. 733/1332),⁽⁴⁾ Aḥmad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Anṣārī (d. 734/1333),⁽⁵⁾ Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Ghassānī (d. 741/1340),⁽⁶⁾ Aḥmad Ibn ‘Alī Ibn Khālīd al-Balawī (d. 741/1340)⁽⁷⁾ and Abu al-Qāsim Ibn Juzaiy⁽⁸⁾ (d. 741/1340). At the battle of Tarifa, in which he died, Ibn Juzaiy declaimed a poem containing the following verses:

قصدي المؤمل في جهري وإسراري ومطلبي من إلهي الواحد البار
شهادة في سبيل الله خالصة تمحو ذنوبي وتجيني من النار
... الخ

My hope, my innermost wish and avowed desire,
and my request from my God, the One the
Creator,
Is a true martyrdom in the cause of God, which
might do away with my sins, and save me from
hell-fire.

Ibn Juzaiy is reputed to have shown extreme bravery before his death. Many other writers fell in the battle of Tarifa

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- (1) Nayl, p. 45.
 (2) Durar, vol. 4, p. 297.
 (3) Durar, vol. 1, p. 106.
 (4) Durra, vol. 2, p. 113.
 (5) Durar, vol. 1, p. 95.
 (6) Durar, vol. 3, p. 449.
 (7) Durar, vol. 1, p. 222; Katība, p. 51.
 (8) Nathir, p. 166; Nayl, p. 238; Katība, p. 46; Durra, vol. 2, p. 118; Azhār, vol. 3, p. 187.

in 741/1340, such as Ibn Salmūn,⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad Ibn Yaḥyā al-Ashʿarī,⁽²⁾ and ʿAbd Allāh Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the father of Lisān al-Dīn.⁽³⁾ others were killed in various battles after Tarifa, such as Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik (d. 743/1342),⁽⁴⁾ Aḥmad Ibn Ridwān Ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīm (d.763/1361).⁽⁵⁾ Abū Yaḥyā Ibn ʿĀsim (d. 813/1410)⁽⁶⁾ and others.

The above mentioned examples might be sufficient to show the degree of the writers' participation in the political and martial life of Granada, a matter which gives the literary works of those writers a special historical importance. Some scholars and historians have noted the important role which literature played in the political field in the Nasrid era. Ismāʿīl Ibn Yūsuf al-Aḥmar, a member of the Nasrid family and a distinguished literary historian of Morocco and Granada in the eighth/fourteenth century, describes writers in general saying:⁽⁷⁾

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- (1) Ihāta, MS. fol. 82; Jadhwa, p. 245.
 - (2) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 176; Nayl, p.238; Bughya, vol. 1, p. 266; Durra, vol. 2, p. 120.
 - (3) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 187; Crestomatia, p. 110; Dīwān Lisān, p. 248.
 - (4) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 528; Durar, vol. 4, p. 315. He was killed in a Muslim defeat in Estepa.
 - (5) Durar, vol. 1, p. 142.
 - (6) Nayl, p. 285. He was killed after a Muslim defeat at Antequera. See Dīwān Yūsuf, p. 89.
 - (7) Mustawda, p. 18, see also Nathīr Farā'id, p. 216.

"وهم السنة الملوك بكل أوان ، ومقاول الدول وصدور كل ديوان ، وأقلامهم المصيبة
كم أذهبت من مصيبة ، اذ تقاوم ذلق الصفايح ، ومفردهم يعدل بالجماعة في حسن
الصياغة ، جمعهم في الكفايح ، فكم كتيبة جرارة لم تزل نفاة وضارة فض جمع جمعها
كتاب..."

"They are the mouthpieces of kings at all times, the ambassadors between nations, and those who occupy the positions of importance in every gathering. And how often have their effective pens ward off impending disasters. Their pens are able to resist the sharp swords. The able writer is sometimes equal to an army in the field, and how often have whole squadrons (useful or harmful) been dispersed by a single message..."

In many texts which have come down to us from the Nasrid period, pens are often equated with swords, and regarded with the same degree of importance.⁽¹⁾ One of the virtues heaped on the Nasrid kings in the poems written in their praise was their ability to write poetry. Ibn Jābir, for example, says in praise of Nasrid kings:⁽²⁾

ومنا الليث والبطل الهمام	وفينا المستشار بكل علم
وميدان الحروب بنا يقام	فميدان الكلام لنا مداه
سوانا عند نازلة تمهـام	كلا الأمرين ليس له بقوم
وليس سوى اليراع لنا سهـام	نريق دم المداد بكل طرس
بحيث الطرس لبأت وهـام	ونكتب في المثقفة العوالي

(1) For examples see: Kunāsa, p. 125; Mustawda, pp. 55 & 56; Ihāṭa, MS. fol. 71; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 173.
(2) Nathir, p. 201.

Among us (you would find) advisers in all
branches of learning, and among us (you
find) lions and gallant heroes.
We are foremost in the art of fine speaking,
and we excel on the battlefields.
Both valiance in war and persuasive speech
would fail, if we do not attend to matters
when danger looms.
We use a lot of ink when writing avails
(lit. shed the blood of inkwells), and when
there are no arrows except our reed pens.
And we write with the well-sharpened spears
when the sheets we write on are (our
opponents') necks and heads.

Those are some aspects of the literary pursuits in
Granada in the Nasrid era in which there was a constant
interaction between literature and political life. But
what were the influences of that interaction both on
literature and on political life? This is the question
which the following chapters will attempt to answer.

CHAPTER III

The Granadine Victories Against The Spaniards as Portrayed in Granadine Literature

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Despite the fall into Spanish hands of the vast majority of Andalusian cities before the end of the eighth decade of the thirteenth century, the Granadine people were still able to establish their last Muslim state and achieve some victories while the Nasrid dynasty held sway.

At the beginning of their rule the Nasrid kings were able to achieve victories against the Spanish states only if they were assisted by the Marīnids of Fez, and only if the Spanish states were preoccupied in consolidating their rule over newly acquired or re-conquered lands. Consequently the congratulatory poems concerning these victories which were written by Granadine or Moroccan versifiers were recited before the Marīnid kings as well as the Nasrid rulers. The glad tidings of any triumphs on the battlefield were despatched to Morocco as well as to Granada. Marīnid support and independent intervention in Spain gave the

Granadine rulers an opportunity to build up their own power and to prepare to defend themselves against Spanish attacks. This contributed to the survival of Muslim rule in Granada longer than was to be expected. The Marīnid kings were often given the credit for this, and were hailed as protectors of Andalusia and defenders of Islam. Many letters were exchanged between Granada and Fez concerning the victories of both parties. On the occasion of the Marīnid victories in Andalusia in the 7th/13th century many poets crowded the palace of Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī in Algeciras to congratulate him, and to present a number of outstanding poems.⁽¹⁾

By the end of the 7th/13th century Granada had apparently rebuilt its power and seemed able to stand up to the Spaniards without the assistance of the Marīnids. Between the years 695 - 699 / 1295 - 1299 King Muḥammad II of Granada attacked and captured several Castilian fortresses like Alcaudete and Quesada. A number of literary compositions appeared as a result of these triumphs.⁽²⁾

The eighth/fourteenth century is often referred to

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- (1) See Dhakhīra, pp. 175-181, 182-183; Anīs, pp. 230 & 265-274.
(2) Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, pp. 561-562; Nafh, vol. 2, pp. 614 - 625.

as the golden age of Naṣrid Granada. During that century the Naṣrid state attained the peak of its prosperity in the political, martial, scientific, cultural and literary fields. Most of the Granadine victories against the Spaniards were gained at that time. Many of these victories were won during the reign of Muḥammad III, Naṣr, Ismāʿīl Ibn Faraj and Muḥammad IV, and a considerable number of literary compositions were written dealing with these victories.⁽¹⁾ King Yūsuf I (733-755/1332-1354) tried to achieve as many victories against the Spaniards as he could. Though many of the battles he rushed into were defensive, Yūsuf I could still achieve a considerable number of triumphs. Many poems and letters were produced regarding those victories.⁽²⁾

It would seem that the greatest number of Granadine victories over the Spaniards were gained during the reign of Muḥammad V, particularly between the years 767 - 772 / 1365 - 1370 . During his reign Muḥammad V attacked several major Andalusian cities such as Cordova, Seville, Jerez, Jaen and others. Through these campaigns

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- (1) For examples see "Un Zayal Hispanique" Al-Andalus, vol. 6, 1941 pp. 382-392; Durra, vol. 2, pp. 70-72; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, pp. 389, 391 & vol. 2, pp. 438 & 440; Nuzha, p. 129; Lamḥa, pp. 85 & 86; Katība, pp. 77-79; Nafḥ, vol. 5, pp. 492-493.
- (2) For examples see Nathīr, p. 168; Dīwān Lisān, pp. 244, 258, 363, 565 & 584; Katība, pp. 195 & 199; Durar, vol. 4, p. 295; Lamḥa, p. 108; Iḥāṭa, MS, fol. 97; Jadhwa, p. 246; Subḥ, vol. 7, pp. 40, 45 & 66; Remiro, p. 135, pp. 186-188, 197, 211, 218 & 245; Nafḥ, vol. 4, pp. 432, 436 & 442.

the Granadines succeeded in seizing and holding several Castilian towns and fortifications. Many literary compositions consequently appeared to spread the news of these conquests.⁽¹⁾

By the end of the 8th/14th century Granada slipped into a destructive civil war. In the 15th century the Granadines were defeated in many battles and eventually surrendered their country to the Spaniards. But the 15th century still witnessed a number of Granadine victories and literary compositions were written regarding these.⁽²⁾

During the Naṣrid period the victories of the Granadine people against the Spaniards outnumbered the defeats, but none of these victories enabled the Granadines to recapture any of the lost Muslim cities in Spain. This inability was, to a large extent, due to the strength of the Spaniards, who surpassed the Granadines both in numbers and the size of their territories. Any minor Spanish victory over the Granadines carried within

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- (1) For examples see Qarā'in, pp. 12-14 & 49-53; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 146; Remiro, pp. 264, 270, 277, 284, 287-291, 295, 303, 312, 318 & 336; Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 79-81 & vol. 2, p. 84; Diwān Lisān, p. 320; Nathīr Farā'id, pp. 256-288; Bughyat al-Ruwad, vol. 2, p. 174; Ta'rif, pp. 916, 922 & pp. 959-1018; Subh, vol. 7, pp. 47-53 & 53-56; Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 505, 506 & 512-519, vol. 6, pp. 339 & 360-379...
- (2) Diwān Yūsuf, p. 156.

itself the danger of the end of Muslim rule in Granada. Any defeat inflicted on the Granadine people left many people of their country dead, while others abandoned Granada for ever. As a result the population of Granada was constantly being reduced. The Spanish states were in a different position. They had a greater number of soldiers in reserve to make up for any losses suffered on the battlefield. In view of this wide difference in numbers on the two sides, the Granadines always portrayed their victories over the Spaniards as miracles, and exaggerated their importance. For this reason the Granadine writers described these victories in great detail and referred to them in a variety of literary compositions. Despite the loss of some of these compositions,⁽¹⁾ one can still find many of them in the extant Arabic sources. They describe the Granadine victories on both land and sea.

The literature dealing directly and wholly with the Granadine victories follows certain discernible trends. The first of these is represented by the congratulatory poems addressed to the victorious Nasrid kings and recited before them. Some of these congratulatory poems were written by poets who had been in the company of the victorious kings in their campaigns, and they were recited

(1) See Ihāṭa, vol. 1, pp. 561-562.

shortly after the victory on the battlefield.⁽¹⁾ Others were recited before the Naṣrid kings after their return to Granada from their conquests, either by the court poets⁽²⁾ or by representatives of Granadine cities coming to congratulate their king on his victory and his safe return.⁽³⁾

The second type of literature dealing with the Granadine victories is exemplified by the letters which carried the news of these victories to both the Granadine people and the inhabitants of other Muslim countries. Letters sent to the Granadine people came either from the battlefield⁽⁴⁾ or from the Naṣrid court. These letters were usually broadcast in mosques and other public gatherings.⁽⁵⁾ They are therefore similar to military communiques in many respects, and they were filed in the state records; their writers resembled war correspondents, especially those despatching letters direct from the battlefield. Every one of these literary compositions, whether they were congratulatory poems, letters, khutbas

(1) For examples see Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 561-562; Dīwān Lisān, p. 565.

(2) For examples see Katība, pp. 77-79; Lamha, p. 85; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 391; Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 492-493.

(3) For examples see Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 438-440; Dhakhira, pp. 175-181 & 182-183; Anis, p. 230.

(4) For examples see Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 466-473; Nafh, vol. 2, pp. 624-625.

(5) For examples see: Subh, vol. 7, p. 66; Remiro, pp. 245 & 284, Nafh, vol. 4, p. 442 & vol. 6, p. 339.

or any other literary genre dealing with the Granadine victories, consists of certain distinctive elements and sections with particular features and technical characteristics. All these elements are seen to be further emphasized during the particular period under consideration. They are used with greater regularity and uniformity, and, generally speaking, are more clearly marked.

-II-

The Main Aspects of The Literature
Dealing with Granadine Victories
Against The Spaniards

A- The Conflict Viewed as a Religious Struggle:

Divine intercession was represented as an important factor in all Granadine victories. Though this idea can be observed in many literary writings throughout the whole Islamic period before the Nasrid era, it is noticeable that it had gained further emphasis and greater regularity and uniformity in all Granadine literary works dealing with victories. One of the factors behind this belief is probably the lack of confidence among the Granadines in their ability and power, and the fact that they gained, despite that, a considerable number of victories.

The Granadine writers portrayed these victories as representing the will of God, who grants victory to those who follow His true religion, and fight in support of His cause. To fulfil His promises, God supports Muslims with battalions of angels in order to help them fight against the unbelievers. Thus in part of a poem written by Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ashqilūlā, a Malagan rebel during the reign of Muḥammad II, the poet addresses Yaʿqūb Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī, conqueror of Don Nuño de Lara in 673/1274 in Ecija with the following verses:⁽¹⁾

وَأَتَتْ لِنَصْرِكُمُ الْمَلَائِكُ سُبْقاً	حَتَّى أَضَاقَ * بِهَا الْفَضَاءُ الْأَوْسَعُ
...	
وَأَمَدَّ الرَّحْمَنُ بِالْفَتْحِ الَّذِي	مَلَأَ الْبَسِيطَةَ نُورُهُ الْمُتَشَعِّشُ
...	
لَمْ لَا وَأَنْتَ بَذَلْتَ فِي مَرْضَاتِهِ	نَفْساً تَقْدِيهَا الْخَلَائِقُ أَجْمَعُ
وَأَتَيْتَ تَنْصُرُ دِينَهُ مُتَوَكِّلاً	بِعَزِيمَةٍ كَالسِّيفِ بِلْ هِيَ أَقْطَعُ
...	

The angels rushed to help you to such a degree that the spheres were crowded by them.
And the Merciful granted you the victory whose shimmering light spread over the whole earth.
Why not, when you devoted your life to the Almighty, a life which each one of us would gladly ransom with his own.
And when you hastened to protect His religion, relying on a determination sharper than the sword!

Similarly, King Muḥammad V sent a letter from Utrera to his people in Granada in 768/1366, soon after

(1) Dhakhīra, p. 182; Anīs, p. 230, some verses of this poem are translated into English by Adler, p. 33.
(*) The poet used form IV of the verb dāqa instead of form I, and that is perhaps to avoid impairing poetical metre.

his army had seized the former township. Ibn al-Khatīb, informing the Granadine people of the king's letter, says that the Almighty had granted the Muslims a significant victory, and that Islam, through this victory, had been glorified and strengthened:⁽¹⁾

... فصدق من الله تعالى لأوليائه وعلى أعدائه الوعد والوعيد وحكم بإبادتهم
المبدى المعيد ..."

"And God has fulfilled His promises to His friends and fulfilled His threats to His enemies by decreeing their complete annihilation..."

One of the reasons for viewing the Granadine victories as the outcome of God's intervention was perhaps the fact that some of them were unexpected. Many Granadine writers have indicated this in their compositions. They were also wont to say that these unexpected victories were achieved only through God's intervention. One of the most celebrated victories during the 8th/14th century was that gained by the Granadine army against the Castilians during the reign of Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj in 718/1318. This victory was achieved on the plain of Granada, and it was absolutely unexpected because the Granadine army was remarkably outnumbered by that of the Spaniards, and because the Spaniards had made a serious attempt to seize Granada.

(1) Remiro, p. 284; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 339.

Desperation had filled the hearts of the Granadine people, especially after the Marīnid refusal to support them against their enemies. Many literary compositions were written exaggerating the importance and magnitude of that victory and viewing it as the result of God's intervention.⁽¹⁾ In one of these compositions, Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh Ibn Lubb, nicknamed Ibn al-Ṣā'igh, congratulates the victorious king Ismā'īl for that "wondrous" victory.⁽²⁾ Ibn Lubb emphasizes that victory had come after desperation, saying:

قد جاء بعد العسرِ شامِلٌ قد جاء بعد الشدةِ الإنجاسُ

He says also in this poem that victory was granted by God. Referring to the Spaniards, Ibn Lubb adds:

فأبادهم وملوكهم فتحٌ بدا وسعد جدك ربنا فتحٌ

As these unexpected victories were pictured as gained by God's intervention, they were often described as of a miraculous and mysterious nature, proving God's unlimited power. The victories of Muḥammad V against the Castilians during the civil war in Castile between the years 767 - 772 / 1365 - 1370 were celebrated by a number of Granadine writers such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī and others. Those writers

(1) See Durra, vol. 2, pp. 70-72; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 389 & vol. 2, pp. 438-440.

(2) Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 438-440.

continued representing the victories of Muḥammad V as outstanding wonders and favours of God, and as triumphs beyond description. Ibn al-Ḥājj, a poet in Muḥammad V's court, says in a congratulatory poem he recited before the king after one of these victories,⁽¹⁾ that it was an indescribable and inexplicable wonder which had no parallels in history.

وأبدي لك الصنعُ الجميلُ عجائباً فَعَزَّ مِثَالُ الوصفِ وأُمتنَع الشرحُ
.....
صنائع لم تحكِ التواريخُ مثلها ولا حَدَّثَتْ عن شِبْهِها الألسنُ الفُصْحُ

Ibn al-Ḥājj emphasizes the same idea in another poem concerning another victory of Muḥammad V, saying that he had never heard nor read about any victory of such magnitude and supernatural dimensions. He adds that it was the fulfilment of God's promise to the followers of His true religion:⁽²⁾

نَسَقَ الفُتُوحَ خوارقاً عادتها بأجلِ صُنْعِ باهٍيرٍ ومَكَيِّفِ
ورأى عجائبَ قَطَطٍ لم يُسَمَّعْ بها في كلِّ تاريخٍ وكلِّ مُصَنِّفِ
.....
فأهنا بيشرى إثر بيشرى أنجزتُ والوعدُ وعدُ الله ليس بمُخْلَفِ

Ibn Zamrak, another court writer of Muḥammad V, also describes these victories, stressing the same divine aspects:⁽³⁾

عناية من أعطى الخليفةَ رتبةً عليها النجومُ النيراتُ تحوُّمُ
فمنه استفاد الملكُ كلَّ غريبةٍ تَخَطَّ على صفحِ الزمانِ وترسَمُ

(1) Qarā'in, p. 12.
(2) Ibid, p. 50.
(3) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 146.

In a personal letter which he wrote to Ibn Khaldūn in 769/1367⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb speaks of the victories of Muḥammad V, saying that they were signal victories and marvellous favours from God which were undreamt of:

”...والمسلمون قد اغتنموا هبوب هذه الريح ، وخرق الله لهم عوائد في باب الظهور والخير لم تكن تخطر في الآمال...”

In his reply Ibn Khaldūn expressed his astonishment at these victories. He said that he had never expected them, nor even dreamed of them, and that they were simply the work of God:⁽²⁾

”...وهبوب ريح النصر والظهور على عدوّ الله ، باسترجاع الحصون التي استنقذوها في اعتلال الدولة ، وتخريب المعاقل التي هي قواعد النصرانية غريبة لا تثبت إلا في الحلم ، وآية من آيات الله ، وأن خبيثة هذا الفتح في طي العصور السابقة الى هذه المدة الكريمة لدليل على عناية الله بتلك السذات الشريفة حين ظهرت على يدها العادة ، وما تجدد آخر الأيام من معجزات الملة...”

The Granadines' fears concerning the end of Muslim rule in Granada may have animated their faith and their belief in God's intervention. They may have thought that since their rulers were unable to defend them against the Spaniards, God was their only reliable resort. They believed that Islam was the true religion of God, and that God would not abandon His religion or its followers. Because of this the Granadine writers explained the Muslim

(1) Ta'rif, p. 916.

(2) Ibid, p. 922.

victories over the Spaniards as signs of God's defence of His religion against the infidels. These beliefs made the Granadine writers celebrate Granadine victories against the Spaniards as the work of providence, and the religious aspect became paramount in all their compositions.

The most noteworthy example of this religious explanation of Granadine victories against the Spaniards occurs in the announcement of the death of Alfonso XI in Gibraltar in 750/1349. Alfonso XI, king of Castile, laid close siege to Gibraltar in that year. Many attempts by Abu al-Hajjāj Yūsuf I, the Granadine king, to relieve the fortress failed, and the Granadines lost all hope of saving it. While the Granadines were grieving over the imminent fall of their dearest fortress, plague struck the area, killing the Spanish king and a large number of his troops. The besiegers were consequently compelled to raise the siege and withdraw back to their country. Many letters and poems were written by Granadine writers about this event, and particularly by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who was at the time the prime minister of Granada and the companion of the Granadine king at Gibraltar during the siege. He wrote letters informing the people of his country of the

death of Alfonso XI.⁽¹⁾ He sent letters also to Abu al-Ḥasan al-Marīnī, king of Morocco,⁽²⁾ and his son Abū 'Inān,⁽³⁾ and he congratulated the Granadine king in a rather long poem on the occasion of that victory.⁽⁴⁾ The content of all these compositions written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb is almost identical, even to the point of repeating certain words and phrases. Their most prominent aspect is the religious explanation of Alfonso's death and the withdrawal of his army. Ibn al-Khaṭīb says that the microbes, which killed Alfonso XI and most of his accompanying army, were only the unseen squadrons of God's angels. They came in the shape of microbes to aid Muslims who were on the verge of defeat and submission. In one of his letters to Abu al-Ḥasan al-Marīnī⁽⁵⁾ concerning the death of Alfonso, Ibn al-Khaṭīb refers to the deceased Castilian king, and speaks of the invisible legions of God which fought against him:

”... ولم يد رآن لله كتائب تخفى عن عيون الكتائب وتكنم في مدارج الأنفاس
ومياه المشارب، وأن الجديدين الليل والنهار يُبليان الجديدة ويأتیان
بالعجائب....”

Ibn al-Khaṭīb also describes the microbes in his

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- (1) See: Subh, vol. 7, p. 66; Remiro, p. 245; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 442.
(2) Remiro, p. 135.
(3) Subh, vol. 7, p. 40; Remiro, pp. 186-188, & 218; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 432-436.
(4) Diwān Lisān, p. 258; Lamha, p. 108.
(5) Remiro, p. 135.

congratulatory poem to King Yūsuf I, saying they saved the Muslims the trouble of using their arms, because they formed such a threat to life and concealed themselves in the drinking water of the Castilian army. He adds that these microbes were the sharp sword of God.

Addressing King Yūsuf I Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:

ولكن سيف الله ماضي المضارب تدق وتخفى عن عيون الكتائب وتكمن حتى في مياه المشارب فما كف عنه الجيش من كف ناهب	سيوفك في أغمادها مطمئنة ولله في طي الوجود كتائب تغير على الأنفاس في كل ساعة أخذن عليه الطرق في دار طارق
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Since the achievement of the Granadine victories was due only to God's decree and will, the Granadine writers often described the religious concept of power through which a country defeats its enemies. They said that the ability to win battles was not subject to the number of troops or the efficacy of the weapons of the warring sides, but to faith and God's support. Ibn al-Khaṭīb recited a poem before Abu al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf I of Granada shortly after the Granadine seizure of Estepa in 743/1342. He had accompanied the Granadine king on this campaign and recited his poem at the fortress of Estepa.⁽¹⁾ In this poem he said that if the Spanish Christians had been so numerous as to cover the whole earth they would still have been considered few, because of their straying from the right path of truth. He added that if any one sought the aid of the Cross instead

(1) Dīwān Lisān, p. 565.

of God's aid he would always fail:

ولو أنهم ملأوا البسيطة كثرةً إن الكثير مع الضلال قليلٌ
وإذا أمرؤ جعل الصليب نصيرةً دون الإله فأنه مخذولٌ

As a result of this religious view the Granadine writers portrayed the death of the Spaniards and the Granadines on the battlefield in two different ways. They used to say that the Spaniards who died on the battlefield went to hell, while dead Muslim soldiers were considered martyrs who would gain a place in Paradise. On behalf of King Yūsuf I Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote a letter to Abū 'Inān of Morocco informing him of the death of Alfonso XI in Gibraltar.⁽¹⁾ He said that the Spanish king's death accelerated his passage to hell"

... "وتعجل لنا الله تعالى مأبه"

In all compositions relating to Granadine victories, and even to the whole conflict between Granada and the Spanish states, it is noticeable that expressions of religious sentiments are more prominent than any expressions of national feeling. This explains why the Granadine rulers habitually sent letters to the princes of Mecca and Medina, and to the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad, concerning their victories.⁽²⁾

(1) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 437.

(2) For examples see Subh, vol. 7, pp. 47-53 & 53-56; Remiro, pp. 264 & 336; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 505 & vol. 6, pp. 360-379; Diwān Lisān, p. 320.

In 772/1370 Muḥammad V of Granada sent a letter to the tomb of the Prophet,⁽¹⁾ which consisted of two sections in poetry and prose, and contained the news of the king's victories against the Spaniards. Muḥammad V apologized to the Prophet for being unable to perform the hajj and visit the Prophet's tomb, because of his preoccupation with jihād in the cause of God and the cause of the Prophet himself against the infidels who, as he said, were attempting to hinder the spread of the Prophet's doctrines:

عَقَارُكَ لَا يَخْفَى لَهَنَ دَبِيبِ	عَدْتُ عَنْ مَخَانِيكَ الْمَشُوقَةَ لِلْعِيدَا
فَمَسْتَلَبْتُ مِنْ دُونِهِ وَسَلِيْبِ	جِرَاصُ عَلَى إِطْفَاءِ نَوْرِ قَدْ حَتَّه

وَهَلْ يَتَسَاوَى مَشْهَدٌ وَمَغِيْبِ	بَنَصْرِكَ عَنْكَ الشَّغْلُ مِنْ غَيْرِ مَنَّةٍ

The author of this long letter suggests that the victories he talks about would not have been gained without the Granadines' strong faith in Islam and the teachings of the Prophet:

(*)	فَعُودُ الصَّلِيبِ الْأَعْجَمِيِّ صَلِيبِ	وَلَوْلَاكَ لَمْ يُعْجَمْ مِنَ الرُّومِ عَوْذُهَا
	ضَمَنْتَ وَوَعْدٌ بِالظُّهُورِ — تُرِيبُ	وَقَدْ كَانَتْ الْأَحْوَالُ — لَوْلَا مَرَاغِبُ
	أَثَابَ بِهِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَشِيبُ	فَمَا شَتَّتَ مِنْ نَصْرِ عَزِيزٍ وَأَنْعُمِ

Their religious outlook in describing the conflict between Granada and the Spanish states made Granadine writers portray their victories simply as triumphs of Islam against infidels

(1) For this letter see: Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 360-379; Diwān Lisān, p. 320.

(*) An excessive use of rhetorical conceits, particularly jinās (paronomasia) is apparent in this verse.

or Christians. This aspect, as already stated, is apparent in all Granadine compositions dealing with the Spanish-Granadine conflict.

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥakīm (d. 708/1308) wrote a letter on behalf of King Muḥammad II, and sent it from the fortress of Quesada (Arabic: Qījāṭa) to the king's son Muḥammad III in Granada conveying to him the glad tidings of the Granadines' capture of Quesada in 695/1295.⁽¹⁾ Referring to the outcome of the conquest, Ibn al-Ḥakīm says:

”... فَهَزَمَ اللَّهُ النَّصَارِيَّ وَوَلَّوْا أَدْبَارَهُمْ، وَقَذَفَ اللَّهُ فِي قُلُوبِهِمُ الرُّعْبَ، فَأَخْلَوْا
بِرُوحِهِمْ وَأَسْوَارَهُمْ، وَتَسَنَّمَهَا الْمُسْلِمُونَ مُعْلِنِينَ بِشَعَارِ الْإِسْلَامِ...”

"... Then God decreed the defeat of the Christians who took to flight. He cast terror into their hearts. They withdrew from their towers and fortifications. The Muslims took hold of the fortress shouting the war cry of Islam..."

Again, in the same letter, Ibn al-Ḥakīm clearly considers the victory of Quesada as a victory of Islam over Christianity-the latter being considered by the Granadine writers as tantamount to atheism. The victory at Quesada is thus considered by Ibn al-Ḥakīm as a victory of the unitarian beliefs of Islam over the Christian Trinity:

(1) Ihāṭa, vol. 2, pp. 466-473 & Nafḥ, vol. 2, pp.

”... فالحمد لله على هذه النعمة التي أحدثت للقلوب استبشاراً ، وخفضت علم التثليث ورفعت للتوحيد مناراً ، وأظهرت للملّة الحنيفة على أعدائها اعتلاءً واستكباراً...”

Ibn Zamrak describes Muḥammad V's victories by saying that they struck down the worshippers of Christ, a matter which, he adds, pleased both Jesus and Mary. Ibn Zamrak adds that it is 'safer and more godly to seek God's aid rather than that of the Trinity:(1)

سعيّاً به يرضى المسيح ومريم	فأصليت عبّاد المسيح من الوغى
فمن يعتصم بالله فالله يعصمهم*	أبر من التثليث بالله وحده

The Granadine writers may have intended, through picturing Granadine victories as victories of Islam against infidels, to indicate that the Granadines formed the fornt line of the Muslim world and that they were defending Islam. In view of this all Muslim countries were requested to take part in supporting their Muslim brothers and defending Granada which was an important part of the Muslim world. For this reason the Granadine writers constantly stressed the need for agreement and understanding among Muslim rulers. This is clearly portrayed in a letter sent by King Muḥammad V to ‘Ajlan Ibn Asad al-Dīn, the prince of Mecca, in 771/1369

(1) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 146.

(*) For other examples see: Katiba, p. 499; Durar, vol. 4, p. 295 & Dīwān Lisān, p. 244.

concerning Muḥammad V's victories in Andalusia.⁽¹⁾

Muḥammad V, in this letter, frequently portrays Granada as a part of the united Muslim world, standing up against the infidels:

”... أما بعد حمد الله وليّ الحمد في الأولى والآخرة، ومطمح النفوس العالية،
والهمم الفاخرة، مؤيد العزائم المتعاضدة في سبيله المتناصرة، ومعزّ الطائفة
المؤمنة ومذلّ الطائفة الكافرة... كتب الله لكم عناية تحجب الأسوأ بجنتها
الساترة، ورعاية تجمع الأهواء المختلفة والقلوب المتنافرة...”

Once the Granadine writers had portrayed their victories as the work of providence, they proceeded to say that these victories strengthened Islam and increased its dignity and glory. In a verse of his congratulatory poem to Abū Yūsuf Ya‘qūb al-Marīnī, who defeated the Castilians in Ecija in 673/1274, Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ash ilūla addresses Abū Yūsuf saying:⁽²⁾

فلقد كسوت الدين عزاً شامخاً ولبست منه أنت ما لا يُخلعُ

"You have bestowed upon Islam a remarkable grandeur and you have obtained everlasting honour".

Ibn Juzaiy, the poet and jurist who died in the Tarifa battle in 741/1340, says, in one of his poems dealing with Yūsuf I's victories against the Spaniards in 740/1339, that these victories were achieved by Islam against infidels, and that by these victories Islam became more powerful while the Christians had been subdued. Addressing

(1) Subh, vol. 7, pp. 47-53 & Remiro, p. 264.

(2) Nathir, p. 168.

Yūsuf I Ibn Juzaiy says: (1)

سعودٌ بها الاسلامُ نالَ أمانِيكَ	اشادَتْ بِبُشْرَاهُ وشادَتْ مَبَانِيكَ
.....	
فيا غزوةً ما كانَ أسعدَ يومَها	ويا نعمةً للدينِ والمُلكِ ضافِيكَ
.....	
لقد عَزَّ دِينُكَ كُنْتَ أَنْتَ حُسَامُهُ	وناصِرُهُ إِنَّ نَابَ خُطْبُكَ وحامِيكَ

The religious outlook in the literature describing the Granadine victories made the authors of this literature use many stereotyped religious terms and phrases, as well as Quranic verses and Islamic epigrammatic phraseology; their works are full of religious nuances and implications.

B- The Image of The Spanish Enemy

An essential element of the literary works dealing with Granadine victories is the way they shed light on, and describe, the two warring armies. The Spaniards were pictured sometimes in favourable terms, and at others in derogatory and abusive language. When taking the former view, the Granadine writers enumerated many favourable characteristics of the Spaniards and their armies which would perhaps please the enemies of Granada and displease the Granadines themselves. Thus, Granadine writers would describe the Spanish army as numerous, formidable, and well-equipped and prepared. In part of his zajal on the

(1) Nathīr, p. 168.

occasion of the Aragonese failure to capture Almeria after a siege lasting six months in 709/1309, an anonymous Mudejar zajjāl from Alicante describes the preparations of Jaime II, the Aragonese king, before that campaign.⁽¹⁾ He says that Jaime II started summoning Christians and Jews from all parts of his domains, and from Portugal, to get ready for war. According to the zajal, Jaime raised a tremendous, innumerable army from among the Aragonese, the Portuguese and the Jews, both infantry and cavalry. Referring to Jaime, the zajjāl says:

أجلب الخلق والعُـدَد
ما لا يحصى له عـدَد
ثم أرمى في البلاد
يغرموا المرقهـين
وجميع المقويـين
أقبلوا أهل برتقـال
بين ركبـان ورجـال
ما لا يحصى له مشـال
بخيول مد رعيـين
ورجال مسلحـين
..... الخ

This description was not given only to the advancing Spanish armies, but also to the Spanish forces attacked in their forts. The Spanish fortresses which were attacked by the Granadines were also often described by Granadine

(1) "Un Zajal Hispanique", Al-Andalus, vol. 6, 1941, pp. 382-392.

writers as inaccessible, impregnable and of great importance and strategic position.

The exaggeration of both the size of the Spanish army and the inaccessibility of Spanish forts seized by the Granadines may have been intended to underline the significance of the Granadine victories, and to stress the ability of the Granadine army to overcome Spanish power whatever its extent and magnitude.

The successful conquest of Huescar fortress in 724/1323 by Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj was the subject of many congratulatory poems. Ibn al-Jayyāb, who recited one of these poems at the fort itself shortly after its surrender, explains the importance of that conquest by describing the inaccessibility of the fort and its strategic position.⁽¹⁾ He says that the place was packed with infidels and that it was so dangerous that it was like a thorn in the "throat" of Islam. Addressing King Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj, Ibn al-Jayyāb says:

وقصدت أشكر مريض الكفر الذي قد ضاق صدر الدين منه بما لـق

Yahyā Ibn Hudhail, one of Ismā'īl's court poets and one of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's shaikhs, recited a famous poem in

(1) Nuzha, p. 129; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 391; Lamha, p. 86.

praise of the king after the latter's return from the conquest of Huescar.⁽¹⁾ Ibn Hudhail introduced the Muslims' great desire to seize the fortress in a shrewd indirect way, by using a rather stereotyped ghazal theme. He likens the fortress to a pretty girl who rejects her lover and prevents him stubbornly from approaching her, making it more desirable for the lover to overcome her resistance. Ibn Hudhail therefore describes the results of the battle by saying that the victors enjoyed the girl (the fortress) while the martyrs were enjoying the houris of Paradise:

<p>غديّة راح الأسد والضمير الجرد وقوماً يوصل الحور قد أنجز الوعد لما لذت الشكوى ولا عذب الورد ومن نبذ الفاني يحق له الخلد</p>	<p>على انها ضنت بعذب ورودها فكان صباح القوم قوماً بوصلها ولولا دافع الخود عن عذب ريقها ومن عانق الأخطار حق له العلا</p>
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After his seizure of Carcabe^(*) around 740/1339 King Yūsuf I was congratulated by many poets, such as Ibn al - Khaṭīb⁽²⁾ and Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Simāk al-ʿĀmilī⁽³⁾. These poets, as appears from their poems, are in agreement that the fortress was very eminent and that it was of strategic importance and in an unassailable position. They are also in agreement that the fortress represented a great danger to neighbouring Muslim towns and to Muslim

(1) Katiba, pp. 77-79; Lamha, p. 85; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 391; Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 492-493. (*) Arabic: Karkabul.

(2) Diwan Lisān, p. 244.

(3) Katiba, p. 199; Durar, vol. 4, p. 295.

travellers passing by. By describing the fort in this manner the poets probably intended to show how strong the Muslim soldiers were, and to raise the hopes of the Granadine people by giving greater dimensions to the valour of their soldiers. Ibn Simāk, describing the fort, says:

<p>فله على كل البسيطة مظهر لحظ يضم عليه منها محجر إلا والمغوار منه منذر تمثلين بأنه لا يحصر يرتد عنه الطرف وهو محير^(١) من دونه قطر الغمام المطر</p>	<p>تغر على الأرض الفضاء طليعة يرنو الى أرض العدو كأنه ما ان يشن الكفر يوما غارة صعد العداة عليه أمنع معقل فسمت جيوشك منه أعلى شاهق في رأس سن لا تقام سماؤه</p>
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What a fortress, that overlooks wide extensive lands, and can be seen from all parts of the earth. It gazes at the enemies' land as if it were inside that land an eyeball inside an eyesocket! Whenever the infidels march in a raid, it gives (an immediate) warning. The enemies fortified themselves in it knowing that it was the most inaccessible fort and thinking it could not even be besieged. But your army towered above its highest summit, where the sight turns back in a state of confusion. On a peak which extends beyond the visible sky and beyond the clouds.

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- (1) The second hemistich of this verse comes from a well-known classical ode by al-Samaw'al Ibn 'Ādiyā al-Ghassānī with slight change. Al-Samaw'al's verse in question is:

لنا جبل يحتله من نجير
منيع يرد الطرف وهو كليـل

(see Shi'r al-Samaw'al, by 'Isā Sābā p. 12, Beirut, 1951). The theme in the verses of al-Samaw'al and Ibn Simāk occurs also in the Quran in the sūra no. 67 (sūrat al-Mulk) verse no. 4 which reads:

"ثم ارجع البصر كرتين ينقلب اليك البصر خاسئاً وهو حسير"

Ibn al-Khaṭīb practically repeats Ibn Simāk's descriptions of Carcabuey fort, with respect to its strength, the threat it presents, its strategic position and height, saying:

ولقین منه حوادثاً وخطوباً	شرقت ثغور الدين منه بغصة
أبدى لها التحذير والتأليبا	ومتى سرت للمسلمين سرية
شكت الثغور به فكتت طبيبا	حتى إذا استشرى وأعضل دأؤه

In another poem Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes the town of Banu al-Bashīr which was conquered by the Granadine army in 743/1342.⁽¹⁾ He says that it was a base for the infidels and that it was so high that there was no way in which it could be seized. No one could even keep looking at it for any long time because of its height. Addressing King Yūsuf I, Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:

هي للضلال معرّس ومقيـل	ثم ارتقت ثنية الشجر التي
مختالة اكليلها الاكليـل	خود تجلت في منصف شاهق
ما لاستباح ما حواه سبيـل	ومصام عز للنجوم مزاحـم
يرتد عنه الطرف وهو كليـل (2)	سامي الذرى متمح أركانـه

In a letter from King Muḥammad V to Abū 'Inān, king of Morocco, informing him of the Granadines' conquest of Ubeda,⁽³⁾ the author stresses the significance of that conquest by describing the economic and strategic value of

(1) Dīwān Lisān, p. 565.

(2) This hemistich is reproduced with very little change from al-Samaw'al. See n.1, p.145 above.

(3) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 84; Remiro, p. 295.

the city. He expresses his amazement at the size and height of the city's buildings which he says were spread out over an extensive area:

”... سعة ساحتها وبعد أقطارها وضخامة بناها ما يكذب الخبر فيه المرأى
ويبذل الأفكار ويحير النهى...”

This may give some indication of the extent of Spanish architectural achievement at the time. The author of this letter goes on to describe the strength of the city's fort, saying that it was packed and obstinately defended by a strong and well-equipped garrison with spears and bows:

”... ألا اننا رأينا انها قصبة مستعدة قد تحصّل بها من القاسية والرامحة
عدة فلا يتوصل الى افتتاحها إلا بمهج ونفوس عليها من المسلمين تسيل...”

The aforementioned letter from Muhammad V to the tomb of the Prophet concerning his victories⁽¹⁾ against the Spaniards contains descriptions of the conquered Spanish territories. Such descriptions make the letter, in addition to its historical and literary value, a document of geographical and cultural interest also. The author describes, for example, the conquered fortresses of Qanbīl^(*) and al-Ḥā'ir^(**) saying:

”... معقلان متجاوران يتناجى منهما الساكن سرارا ، وقد اتخذوا بين النجوم
قرا را ، وفصل بينهما حسام النهر يروق غارا...”

”... They are two neighbouring fortresses
very high and separated by a river...”.

(1) Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 360-379; Remiro, p. 336. See p. 137
above

(*) Sp. Cambil

(**) Sp. Alhabar

When the author of this letter describes Ubeda, he refers to aspects of the economic, cultural and military life in the township:

"... ذات العمران المستبحر ، والربض الخرق المصحر ، والمباني الشم الأنوف ،
وعقائل المصانع الجمّة الحلي والشنوف ، والغاب الأنوف ، بلدة التجر ، والعسكر
المجر..."

"... A city of a large population, of high and ornamented buildings and palaces, and numerous villas. It is a city of active trade and has a numerous army."

The Granadine writers also often pictured the Spanish states as one united enemy, or at least referred to the rapprochement between the various Spanish states. In most of the Granadine letters and poems concerning Granadine victories Spanish soldiers were invariably portrayed as strong, experienced in warfare, brave and zealous in the defence of their religious beliefs. After the Granadine seizure of Quesada in 695/1295, Ibn al-Ḥakīm wrote a letter to Muḥammad II, the Granadine crown prince, informing him of the victory of Muḥammad II, the Granadine king, at Quesada.⁽¹⁾ In this letter Ibn al-Ḥakīm describes the Spanish soldiers in the conquered fortress in the following terms:

"... وقد ملأوا أسواره من حمة رجالهم وانتقوهم من متخيرّي أبطالهم ممن
وثقوا بإقدامه في حمة ضلالهم..."

(1) Nafh, vol. 2, pp. 624-625 & Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 466-473.

"... The walls of the fortress were all manned by experienced, confident , and well chosen warriors whom the enemy trusted to defend their disbelief (in God)..."

Ibn al-Ḥakīm adds that the fortress was garrisoned by a mighty innumerable army with a massive supply of weapons, ammunition and provisions. He seems to indicate that the attackers were faced with great difficulties and were nevertheless able to overcome them all. Ibn al-Ḥakīm says that the garrison put up a stiff resistance in the defence of the Cross, by which he seems to imply the Christian faith:

”... وأظهر الكفار مع وقوعهم في بحر الموت صبرا ، وطمعوا أن يقيموا لصلبانهم
عذرا...”

The motives behind such positive descriptions of the Spaniards, in poems and letters relating to Granadine victories can perhaps be easily discerned. The first of these is explicitly stated in the following fragment written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb,⁽¹⁾ who himself wrote many poems, letters and muwashshahs on the subject of the Granadine victories:

”... تحقير عدوّ السلطان بين يديه ليس من السياسة في شيء بل غير ذلك أحقّ وأولى ، فإن كان السلطان غالب عدوّه كان قد غلب غير حقير وهو الأولى بفخره وجلالة قدره ، وإن غلبه العدو ولم يغلبه حقير فيكون أشدّ للحسرة وأكثر للفضيحة...”

(1) Nafh, vol. 5, p. 80.

"... It is not at all wise to underestimate or run down the enemy's power in the presence of the sultan. The exaggerated description of the enemy's strength is more appropriate, for if the sultan defeats this enemy, he will, consequently, appear to have defeated a strong enemy, and thus seem deserving of honour and glory. But if the sultan was overcome he would appear to have been defeated by an irresistible enemy, a matter which would mitigate his feeling of ignominy and sorrow."

By pointing out the courage and strong resistance of the Spanish soldiers, the Granadine writers may have wanted to urge the Granadine soldiers to be as brave and courageous as their enemies, or even more so. They may also have wanted to assure the readers of their poems and letters that the Muslim soldiers, by defeating such fine enemies, were themselves braver and more efficient and reliable. Besides, these descriptions of the Spanish army, the Spanish fortresses and soldiers, were intended to indicate that the Granadine victories against the Spaniards did not arise from superiority in numbers or from Granadine power, but primarily from God's intervention, and help. This was taken to certify that Islam is the true religion and that the Christians are infidels, or God would have taken their side. In some cases the exaggeration of Spanish power was intended by the Granadine court writers to justify the failure of certain Granadine campaigns against the Spanish fortresses.⁽¹⁾

(1) See for examples Ih̄āta, vol. 2, p. 84; Remiro, p. 295.

Such descriptions of the Spaniards also appear in letters sent from Granada to other Islamic countries concerning the Granadine victories. The purpose of pointing out the strength of the Spaniards was, it would seem, to secure more assistance from the Islamic countries and to impress on the rulers of those countries how much more could be achieved with their help. "If we, the Granadines", these letters seemed to say, "have gained victories against this powerful enemy without your assistance or with your limited help, we will certainly gain further and greater victories if you offer us more assistance".

But this positive image of the Spaniards is not the only picture of them which emerges from the Arabic literary compositions celebrating Granadine victories. Some unfavourable images also emerge. The Spaniards are also described as faithless, deceitful, stupid, avaricious, sinful and short-sighted. Granadine writers also suggest that these characteristics were the prime causes of the Spaniards' defeat. In his congratulatory poem recited before Abū Yūsuf al-Marīnī, the Moroccan king who defeated the Spaniards at Ecija in 673/1274, Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ashqilūla describes the Spanish soldiers as sinful and short-sighted.⁽¹⁾

(1) Dhakhīra, p. 182; Anīs, p. 230.

They came to the battlefield, he says, from various distant places, not knowing that they were driven there by the will of God merely to face instant death:

كَمْ مِنْ قَصِي الدَّارِ عَاصِمٍ قَادَهُ
حَتْفٌ يَخْبُتُ بِهِ إِلَيْكَ وَيُوضِعُ
إِنْ ظَنَّ أَنَّ مَرَادَهُ مِنْجٍ لِسَهْلِهِ
فَبَجْهَلِهِ قَدْ ظَنَّ مَا لَا يَنْفَعُ

In a congratulatory poem written by Ibn Lubb to King Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj after his signal victory against the Spaniards on the plain of Granada in 718/1318,⁽¹⁾ the poet says that the Spaniards started the war impelled by their stupidity and avarice, which brought utter defeat upon them at Muslim hands. Referring to King Ismā'īl, Ibn Lubb says:

وَلَمَثَلِهِ قَادَ الْجِيَادَ عَدُوَّهُ
أَهْوَاهُ شَيْطَانُ الْهَوَى فِي لَجَّةٍ
كَلَّ الْمَطَامِعُ لِلْغَنِيِّ فَصَّاحُ
فَخَبَا لَهُ قَدْحٌ وَخَابَ قِدَاحُ
إِنَّ الْهَوَى بِالْيَفِيفِ طَمَاحُ
كُلِّ الْمَطَامِعِ لِلْغَنِيِّ فَصَّاحُ

Ibn Lubb adds that the Spaniards came to the battle completely assured of success, but were badly routed:

تَاللَّهِ مَا كُنْتُمْ بِأَوَّلِ عَسْكَرٍ
أَمِلَ النِّجَاحَ وَحَيْنُهُ يُجْتَنَاحُ

The poet proceeds to describe the role of the Christian priests in that battle. He says that they were deliberately urging the Spanish knights into the battlefield, not to defend Christianity, but in order that they might be rid of those knights. This perhaps indicates that some differences

(1) Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 438-440.

had arisen between the clergy and the Castilian nobles and knights. Ibn Lubb, addressing the victims, says:

<p>بسيوفنا إن إفكُهُ لَصَـرَاحُ غَدْرًا وَمَكْرًا إِنَّهُ لَوَقَّاحُ *</p>	<p>الْقَسُّ غَرَّكُمْ لِيَهْلِكَ نَسْلُكُمْ كَمْ ذَا يَسْخَرُكُمْ وَيَسْخَرُ مِنْكُمْ</p>
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The Spaniards are often represented in Granadine literature relating to victorious campaigns as faithless and deceitful. They are accused of having attacked innocent defenceless Muslims under their rule. Many of the Granadine letters to the Marīnids and other Muslim states report, for example, that the Christians of Utrera, south of Seville, killed one thousand Granadine captives released from Seville in 767/1365 by Pedro, the Castilian king. It is reported that when those captives passed by Utrera, the way was blocked by the Utrerans, who then attacked the captives and killed them all. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in one of his letters sent to Abū 'Inān al-Marīnī, king of Morocco, on behalf of King Muḥammad V, blames the Utrerans for this alleged atrocity.⁽¹⁾ He says that the people of Utrera were the most vicious and faithless of the mad infidel "dogs". He says also that they used to turn back Muslim merchants and ambassadors:

”... وأهلها أشهر أكلب الكفر عن ناب شره، وأسطاهم بنفس مؤمنة، وأخفرهم
لذمة وأسوأهم معارضة لملتس تجرا وتحفة أو مضايقة بسفير رسالة...”

(*) For more references to the Spaniards' alleged sense of conceit, see Subh, vol. 7, p. 42; Remiro, p. 218; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 437.
(1) Remiro, p. 277.

Because of their religious outlook, the Granadine writers portrayed the Spaniards as infidels, worshippers of idols, images, and crosses and as devotees of three gods (clearly, a reference to the Christian Trinity). Such descriptions are found in all Granadine compositions dealing with the Spanish-Granadine conflict.⁽¹⁾

Some Granadine writers describe the physical features of the Spanish soldiers. King Yūsuf III of Granada tells of their white faces, blue eyes, soft bodies, and swaying half-hearted march under their flags.⁽²⁾ The poet probably wanted to disparage and denigrate those soldiers by likening them to women. He says:

يلتأحُ بدرُ الأفقِ عندَ تَمَامِهِ	ما بين زُرقةٍ لحظِهِ وحُسامِهِ
لولا معاطِفُهُ ولَينُ قَوامِهِ	ويميسُ عن سُمرِ الرماحِ قَوامُهُ
كالدهرِ لا عتبَ على أحكامِهِ	نظراتُهُ بين المخافةِ والرجا
قمرُ الدُجى متلفحٌ بغمَامِهِ	وتراه في ظلِّ اللوا كـآنِهِ

The description of the Spaniards as deceitful, infidels and worshippers of idols, is probably intended by the Granadine writers to whip up Muslim zeal for their faith and the maintenance of its prestige and dignity.

(1) For examples see: Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 438-440; Nafh, vol. 2, pp. 624-625; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 146.
(2) Diwān Yūsuf, p. 156.

C- The Self-Image of The Granadines

Just as Granadine literary compositions dealing with Granadine victories include descriptions of the Spaniards, so do they carry in even greater measure descriptions of the Granadines' own forces. The portrayal of the Granadine side by their writers stresses certain features of the Granadine army, its leaders and its weapons. The army as a whole is described as being much smaller than the Spanish army. It is also pictured as serving in an isolated and remote country surrounded by strong hostile enemies on one side, and a tumultuous sea on the other. Although this was a well-known fact, the Granadine writers never missed a chance to emphasize it in order perhaps to incite more people to join the Granadine army, or to picture every Granadine victory as a miraculous deed. They may also have wished to substantiate the Muslim belief that victories are not due to numbers, but are a matter of faith and piety. In addition, they may have wanted to show the courage and steadfastness of the Granadine army, which could defeat the more numerous Spaniards. Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote a letter, on behalf of King Muḥammad V, to 'Ajlān Ibn Asad al-Dīn, the prince of Mecca in 771/1369,⁽¹⁾ in order to make the prince aware of the Granadine conquests achieved in the reign of Muḥammad V. The author of this letter complains

(1) Subh, vol. 7, pp. 47-53; Remiro, p. 264.

of the isolation and remoteness of Granada, and of the small size of its army compared to the fearsome Spanish forces. He says that the Granadines numbered less than one percent of the Spaniards:

"... وطائفة الحق قليل عدد ها منقطعاً من الله مدد ها وعدد المسلمين لا يبلغ من عدد الكفار عشر المعشار ولا وبرة من جلود العشار . . ."

In his letter directed to the tomb of the Prophet⁽¹⁾ on the subject of Muḥammad V's victories, Ibn al-Khaṭīb exaggerates the wide difference in numbers between the Granadines and the Spaniards, saying:

"... وحيث الاسلام من عدوه المكاييد بمنزلة قطرة من عارض غمام، وحصاة من شبر أو شمام . . ."

"... Where the Muslims, in comparison with their enemy, are like a drop in a downpour of rain or like a pebble on the mountains of Thabīr and Shamām ...".

He goes on to describe the Granadines as "jam' al-qilla," and to describe the Spaniards as "jam' al-kathra". Though aware of the smallness of their army, Granadine writers used to extol the victories achieved by that army, the efficient deployment of its squadrons, and its actions. Ibn al-Khaṭīb recited a congratulatory poem before King Yūsuf I soon after the latter's seizure of Estepa in 743/1342.⁽²⁾ He describes the Muslim army which carried out

(1) Nafḥ, vol. 6, pp. 365-366.

(2) Diwān Lisān, p. 565.

the attack, saying that it marched over the hills like a flood, although it was only formed of squadrons of horse galloping as fast as the wind, with gleaming sword-blades like the flashes of lightning, and drums beating like thunder. Muslim flags fluttered over both highlands and lowlands, shading the Muslim squadrons:

فوق الوهاد إذا زحفن سيول	في عسكر لجب كان جموعه
والريح ألا انهن خيول	كالبحر ألا انهن كتائب
والرعد ألا انهن طبول	والبرق ألا انهن أسننة
ويكل غور مقنب ورعيول	فبكل نجد راية منشورة

As the Granadine army was outnumbered by the Spanish army, one is tempted to ask how the Granadines achieved victories over the Spaniards?. The Granadine writers did not leave this question unanswered. They included in their compositions many descriptions of Granadine leaders and soldiers through whom the country stood up steadfastly against Spanish attacks. The ideal Granadine leader was described in these compositions as an efficient, reliable and a careful planner. He was pictured as being of special qualities, including courage, piety, determination, farsightedness, tolerance, ambition and many other ideal characteristics. In his above - mentioned poem Ibn al-Khaṭīb praises King Yūsuf I for these qualities saying:

وإذا رأيت الرأي ليس يفيل	وإذا هممت بلغتك كل منيح
والدين أنك سيفه المسلول	شهدت لك العليا أنك ربها
هذا وكل شاهد مقبول	والجود أنك غيئه الهامي الحيا

...

<p>وإذا تَوَحَّيْتَ السَّيَاسَةَ فِي الْوَرَى إِنَّ رُؤْمَتَ فِي اللَّهِ الْجِهَادَ وَطَالَمَا وَأُنْفَتَ لِلدِّينِ الْحَنِيفِ وَأَهْلِهِ وَقَدْ حُتْ زَنْدَ عَزِيمَةٍ نَصْرِيَّةٍ وَسَلَكْتَ لِلتَّقْوَى سَبِيلًا سَنَهَا</p>	<p>يوما فما للعدلِ عَنْكَ عُدُولُ أَرْضِي الْإِلَهَ جِهَادُكَ الْمَقْبُولُ مِنْ أَنْ يُطِيحَ نَجِيعُهُ الْمَطْلُوبُ تَرَكْتُ دِيَارَ الْكُفْرِ وَهِيَ طُلُوبُ عَلَّمَ الْمُلُوكَ أَبْنُوكَ إِسْمَاعِيلُ</p>
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Ibn al-Khatīb praises the king for his good fortune, his capacity to gain victories, his steadfastness, protection of Islam, impetuosity against his enemies, fighting in the cause of God, and for his piety, justice and wise policies. These qualities Ibn al-Khatīb seems to imply, helped the king to return to Granada from his campaign with a signal victory gained through the intercession of the angels of heaven:

وَرَجَعْتَ وَالنَّصْرُ الْعَزِيزُ مُصَاحِبُ
 لَكَ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ الْكَرَامُ قَبِيلُ

It appears that the poet wished to convey the idea that without his good qualities, God would not have helped the Granadine king with His hosts of angels, and the Granadine leader would not have achieved the victory.

In a poem written by Ibn Hudhail, on the occasion of the conquest of Huescar in 724/1324,⁽¹⁾ by Ismā'īl Ibn

(1) Katība, pp. 77-79; Lamha, p. 85; Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 391; Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 492-493. In Katība Ibn al-Khatīb attributes this poem to Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Faraj Ibn Shaqar Al (d. 730 A.H/1329 A.D.)

Faraj the poet congratulates the king, who led the Granadine army in person in that conquest. He also praises King Ismā'īl for his determination and valour, his care for his soldiers, and his compassion and sympathy. These qualities, as Ibn Hudhail says, would have been enough to enable the king to recapture all the Andalusian cities, and even to invade India and Sind. Referring to the Granadine soldiers, who carried out the conquest, and referring to the role played by King Ismā'īl in particular, Ibn Hudhail says:

حَذُّوا حَذَّوْ سُلْطَانٍ عَلَى الشَّرْعِ عَاطِفٍ فَلَوْ رَامَ إِدْرَاكَ النُّجُومِ لِنَالِهِمَا تَأْمَنَتْ الْأَرْوَاحُ فِي ظِلِّ بَنِيهِ	رَفِيقِي بِهِمْ حَانَ إِذَا عَظُمَ الْجُهْدُ وَلَوْ هُمْ لَا نَقَادَ تَلَهُ السُّنْدُ وَالْهِنْدُ كَأَنَّ جَنَاحَ الرُّوحِ مِنْ فَوْقِهِ بَنِيهِ
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Though the Granadine kings were praised for their humanitarian relations with their soldiers, they were also honoured in the literary works concerning Granadine victories for their dignified personalities. In his poem, which he recited after Muḥammad III's victory at Alcaudete in 699/1299, Ibn al-Jayyāb praises the king saying: (1)

وَشَخْصُكَ مِمَّا لَا حَ لِلْخُلُقِ أَذْغَنْتَ
لَهَيْبَتِهِ عُجْمُ السُّورَى وَالْأَعَارِبُ

"... People, whether Arabs or non-Arabs,
are quick to declare their allegiance
to you at the sight of your venerable
and dignified person..."

On account of these characteristics, especially piety

(1) Iḥāta, vol. 1, pp. 561-562.

and struggle in the cause of God, the Granadine writers often described their leaders as divinely-supported and as worthy of assuming the caliphate. All these qualities, which included courage, bravery, fighting skill, sympathy, piety, tolerance and other characteristics itemised by Granadine writers in their image of the ideal Granadine leader, seem to have been influenced by the spread of notions of chivalry and its values in Granada. We find that Granadine soldiers were similarly praised for having many of the characteristics mentioned above. They were praised for their bravery, steadfastness, strong resistance, reliance on God, piety and sincerity.

Abū Muḥammad Ibn Ashqilūla describes the soldiers who accompanied Abū Yūsuf al-Marīnī during his wars in Andalusia wherein he defeated the Spaniards in 673/1274.⁽¹⁾ He says that they were pious and God-fearing, and that they entered Andalusia in order to aid their Muslim neighbours at a time when the rights of these neighbours were being overlooked or violated:

ما إِنْ لَهُ إِلَّا التَّوَكُّلُ مَفِيزُهُ	من كُلِّ مَنْ تَقْوَى إِلَهُ سَلَا حُهُ
يَوْمًا إِذَا أَضْحَى الْجَوَارُ يُضَيِّعُ	لا يُسَلِّمُونَ إِلَّا النَّوَائِبَ جَارَهُمْ

In one of his poems,⁽²⁾ Ibn Lubb describes those Granadine

(1) Dhakhīra, p. 182; Anīs, p. 230.

(2) Ināṭa, vol. 2, pp. 438-440.

soldiers who shared in the Granadine victory against the Spaniards on the plain of Granada in 718/1318. He portrays them as heroes, valiant fursān with cheerful faces, generous both with their lives and all their possessions, reputable and respectable. These characteristics perhaps constitute the ideal image of a Muslim fāris in Granada during the Naṣrid era. Ibn Lubb describes these soldiers saying:

مع أنهم غرَّ الوجوه صباحُ	اربوا على الأسد الهزبر بسالة
عند النوال أو النزال شحاحُ	ما هم ببذل نفوسهم ونفيسهم
مسكاً تضوع عرفه النفاحُ	وإذا هم ذكروا بنادٍ فانتشيقُ

This combination of religious and martial characteristics in the descriptions of Granadine soldiers and leaders can be found in most writings relating to Granadine victories. In part of his poem concerning the Granadines' conquest of Huescar in 724/1324, ⁽¹⁾ Ibn Hudhail praises the Granadine soldiers for many qualities. He says that they were pious, valiant, faithful and zealous, and that they spent their nights worshipping God like monks, while during the day they looked like lions:

فأفواهم من ذكر ربهم شهد	وإن حلَّ صبر الصبر بين ضلوعهم
سراجاً من التقوى بأزهرهم يبيد	وتحسب نور الصدق والعزم دائماً
وإن لبسوا حر الهياج فهم أسد	هم القوم رهبان إذا لبسوا الدجى
	...

(1) Katība, pp. 77-79; Lamḥa, p. 85; Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 391; Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 492-493.

The Granadine writers portrayed all these characteristics as vital factors in the Granadine victories over the Spaniards. They also described the arms of the Granadine soldiers, picturing the soldiers as armed with very effective weapons, sharp and well-forged. Among the arms so described are swords, spears, bows, arrows, catapults, and cannons, which had been used widely in the long Granadine-Spanish conflict. The Granadine writers described also Granadine ships, horses and banners. In his above-mentioned congratulatory poem after the victory of Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj at Huescar in 724/1324, Ibn Hudhail refers to the Granadine use of gunpowder in the conquest. He describes the Spaniards' surprise on hearing the explosions. He describes the projectiles too, saying that they had a sound like thunderbolts, and that they destroyed and burned anything they touched. As a new and strange weapon, Ibn Hudhail considers gunpowder one of the concealed powers of nature, and he foretells the discovery of even stranger secrets and powers of nature in the future. Referring to the Spaniards, he says:

<p>فحاق بهم من دونها الصعق والرعدُ مهندمة تأتي الجبال فتهددُ وما في القوى منها فلا بد أن يبدو*</p>	<p>وظنوا بأن الرعد والصعق في السما عجائب أشكال سما هرمس بها ألا إنها الدنيا تريك عجائباً</p>
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(*) This verse is an allusion of Aristotle's theory of "the potential energy". This verse also proves that the poem was written by Ibn Hudhail not by Ibn Shaqar Āl, because, the former was of philosophical learning (see above, n.1, p. 158)

In his letter sent to the Prophet's tomb in 772/1370 concerning the Granadine victories against the Spaniards, King Muḥammad V indicates the skill of Muslim warriors in the use of that primitive form of artillery, and the assortment of catapults used during their attacks on Jaen, Peña (Ar. al-Binna), Cordova and Algeciras.⁽¹⁾

The Granadines used to call the projectiles of this weapon al-anfāt, and they called the cannon hindām al - naft. They used also to liken the sound of its explosions to thunderbolts and thunderstorms.

The state of Granada was bordered to the south by the Straits of Gibraltar and the Mediterranean waters along a lengthy coast-line. Sea battles were, therefore an essential part of the conflict between Granada and the Spanish states, and many battles took place in the southern ports of Granada, especially in Tarifa, Gibraltar, Algeciras, Ronda, and Almeria. Therefore, those Granadine writers who described the victories of Granada at sea had to describe the Muslim navy and its ships. Among the Granadine sea victories is one that took place in 740/1339 when the Granadine navy utterly routed and destroyed the united Spanish navy in the Straits of Gibraltar. Many poets celebrated this victory and described it, devoting considerable sections to describing the Muslim ships which

(1) See this letter in Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 360-379.

fought this successful battle.⁽¹⁾ One of these poems is written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.⁽²⁾ He says that the Muslim ships hovered over the water like gliding falcons spreading the tips of their wings, ready for killing the Spaniards. The sails of these ships, as Ibn al-Khaṭīb says, were black, while the deck timbers were pure white, which made these ships look like white-footed crows. They carried strong and courageous Muslim warriors, like lions. Addressing the victorious King Yūsuf I, Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:

<p>في اليم أمثال الصقور الخوم أمراً بها كف القضاء المبرم قطع السحاب سرت بنو المرزم فتراه في شية الغراب الأعصم مهج العدى وخلوفهن من الدم وصلاً بدينار لهن ود رهم صبراً على الفج المصاع المضرم</p>	<p>ولك الجواري المنشآت سوابحاً فتتح القوادم للفنا قد أبرمت من كل منصاع كأن شراعاً ساح البياض البحت تحت جناحه تلك الجواري المنشآت صداقها وججالهن من البنود فلا ترم حملت رجالاً كالليث مصاباً الخ ...</p>
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D- Losses on The Spanish Side

The major feature of writings celebrating Granadine victories is the exaggeration of the Spaniards' losses.

(1) See: Diwān Lisān, p. 584; Ihāta, MS, fol. 97; Jadhwa, p. 246; Katiba, p. 198; Durār, vol. 4, p. 295.
 (2) Diwān Lisān, p. 584.

The Granadine writers describe the Spanish victims, and the destruction inflicted on Spanish cities, fields and churches. They also exaggerate the humiliation which befell the Spanish leaders, commanders, kings and clergy, and the shame inflicted on their national and religious symbols. They also exaggerate the amount of booty seized by the Granadine army, and the number of male and female Christian captives driven to Granada after these victories.

In their descriptions of Spanish victims and corpses the Granadine writers often used malicious expressions and described the feelings of the victims' families and the Spaniards' grief and sorrow for their defeat and their losses.

Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Lūshī, who was still alive in 752/1351, wrote a congratulatory poem on the occasion of the Granadines' victory against the Spaniards in the plain of Granada in 718/1318.⁽¹⁾ In part of this poem the poet describes the flowing blood of the Castilian victims, their severed heads and blood-spattered corpses, gloating on their misfortune. To express his joy at the Spaniards' misfortune, the poet resorts to mockery and to a number of far-fetched metaphors and similes. Thus

(1) Durra, vol. 2, pp. 70-72.

he says, addressing his king:

أَعْتَقِهِمْ فَلَهَا الرُّؤُوسُ حَبَابُ	أَجْرَيْتَ أَنْهَارَ السُّيُوفِ عَلَى ثَرَى
شَيْبُ عِلَافٍ مِنَ الدِّمَاءِ خِضَابُ	فَكَأَنَّهَا فَوْقَ الْمَفَارِقِ مِنْهُمْ
وَبُوجْهِ دِينَ اللَّهِ مِنْهُ شَبَابُ	أَحْسَنَ بِهِ شَيْبًا بِهِمْ مِنْهُ رَدَى
إِذْ يَسْرَتُهَا لِلْسَّجُودِ رِقَابُ	سَجَدَتْ رُؤُوسُهُمْ لِسَيْفِكَ هَيْبَةً

In his poem on the same occasion, Ibn Lubb expresses malicious joy over the Christian defeat. He describes their flowing blood, scattered corpses, trains of captives, loads of booty, the destruction inflicted upon the Spaniards' property and crops, the ignominy of their leaders and the despicable nature of their beliefs. Ibn Lubb describes all these with a sense of irony, resorting to rhetorical questions and various forms of metaphor and simile.⁽¹⁾ He describes the defeated army in verses such as the following:

يَشْدُو عَلَيْهِ الطَّائِرُ الصِّيَاحُ؟	أَتَرَكْتُمْ بَطْرُو وَحِيدًا مَفْرَدًا
غُرْبَانُهُ وَوَسَادُهُ الصَّفَاحُ؟ (*)	وَجُوانٌ يَرْتَشِفُ النَّدَى فَنَدِيمُهُ
قَطْرُ الْمَنَيا الصَّارِمُ الطَّفَّاحُ؟	وَكَذَلِكَ الْمَطْرَانُ جَادَ رَسُومُهُ
أَصْنَا فِكْمِ هَذِي أُمُّ الْأَشْبَاحُ؟	أُرُؤُوسُ أُمِّ بَيْضِ النِّعَامِ بِمَرْجِنَا
بِالْمَالِ وَالْأَسْرِ وَهَنْ فِسَاحُ	يَا لِلْمَطَامِيرِ اشْتَكَّتْ مِنْ ضَيْقِهَا

وَنَبَاتُهَا الرِّيحَانُ وَالتَّفَاحُ	قَدْ أَنْتَنَتْ بِطَحَاؤُنَا بِحُطَامِكُمْ

You have left Pedro lying alone and
the owl crying over his head!
And Juan sipping drops of moisture,
with no drinking companion except
the crows, and with no pillows except
the hard ground!

(1) *Ihāta*, vol. 2, pp. 438-440.

(*) The metre in the second hemistich is impaired.

The archbishop's corpse is drenched
with a copious rain of death which
flows from swords.

What is that I see in our plain;
heads or ostrich eggs? yourselves or
ghosts?

O the spacious storehouses, how much
they "complain" about becoming
straitened with the great amount of
booty and with large numbers of
captives!

.....

Our lands have an offensive smell
because of your corpses, yet they were
before fragrant with aromatic plants
and apples.*

Describing the sea battle which took place in 740/
1339 in the Straits of Gibraltar in which the Granadine
navy destroyed the united Spanish navy, Ibn al-Khatīb
concentrates on a description of the defeated navy.⁽¹⁾
He says that upon the arrival of the Muslim navy at the
Straits the Christian navies, which consisted of a large
number of ships, became confused and were utterly routed.
The Muslims, thereupon, chased the Spaniards, smashing
the scattered remnants of their navy. Ibn al-Khatīb adds
that the Spaniards' bodies were washed upon the coast to
await birds of prey and animals, while other bodies
floated upon the water, colouring it with their blood:

لحوت أو للطير أو للضيغم	صرعى على غفر الرمال وليمة
بهلاكهم وعقرت ریح جهنم	اقفرت ریح الكفر من شككـانـه
وسفحت فوق البحر بحرا من دم	وقدحت فوق النار ناراً تلتظي
أيدي الرياح مطافاً من عندم	فكان صفح البحر مـدّت فوقه

(*) For another example see Ibn al-Jayyāb, pp. 158-160.
(1) Diwān Lisān, p. 584.

Abū ‘Abd‘Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Yūsuf Ibn Riḍwān al - Nijārī al-Mālaqī wrote a poem on the same occasion.⁽¹⁾ He describes the disorder and confusion of the Spanish navy during the battle and the subsequent defeat. He says that many of the Spaniards were taken captive to Granada, while many others were killed in the battle:

هداهم هواهم للأسار وللغيا	فما أُمْتُلُوا من ذا وذاك حبائلا
فمن بين عانٍ في القيود مصفدٍ	وفانٍ عليه السيف أصبح مائلا

The Granadine writers used to talk about the victorious Muslim army leading columns of Spanish male and female captives and taking countless loads of booty. They also used to gloat over the sorrow and the grief of the Spaniards and the destruction inflicted on their property. Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī congratulates King Muḥammad V for his successful attacks against Cordova,⁽²⁾ saying that the Granadine army had killed many of those manning the garrison and left the Spaniards shedding tears over their victims. The Granadine army then turned upon Jaen, destroying its buildings and crops, and taking large amounts of booty, which Ibn al-Ḥājj says were enough to fill the whole area:

وتركتَ جمعَ حُمَاتِهَا وكَاتِبَهُمْ	أعجازُ نخلٍ عوجلتَ بتقصّف
وغدوا وما لبني أبيهم ناصراً	غيرُ الصبابة والدُموعِ الذُرْف
وطفقتَ جَيَانَا فأخفيتَ الذي	قد كان من آثارها لم يختف
وملأتَ متسعَ الفضاء غنائماً	أخذتَ بهنّ الأرضَ أعظمَ زخرف

(1) Ihāṭa, MS, fol. 97; Jadhwa, p. 246.

(2) Qarā'in, p. 51.

Two verses from a poem inscribed on the walls of "El patio de los Arrayanes" in the Alhambra palace. They read:

وطوقتهم طوق الاسار فاصبحوا
وفتحت بالسيف الجزيرة غسوة
.....
ببائك يمينون القصور تحذ مسـا



In part of his letter to the Granadine people after his seizure of Utrera in 768/1366,⁽¹⁾ King Muḥammad V talks about the many thousands of Christian women captives taken from the conquered city:

”... وتحصل من سبيه بعدما رويت السيوف من دمائهم آلاف عديدة لم يسمع
بمثلها في المدد المديدة والعهود البعيدة...”

As has been mentioned before the Granadine writers stressed the humiliation inflicted upon the Spanish leaders, clergy, knights and nobles. In his letter to Abū ‘Inān al-Marīnī concerning his above-mentioned victory at Utrera,⁽²⁾ King Muḥammad V of Granada describes the strong, noble, well-known and highly-reputed Spanish knights tied in chains and ropes and driven to Granada. He describes also the large number of Spanish women taken into captivity:

”... ومن الغد عمت ردفاً سباياهم الظهور والأكفال ، وتجاوزت مقاتلتهم وجلد اوهم
الجدل والحبال ، وصلصت الى امتطاءً نبهائهم الأصقاد والأكبال ، وقد أضرمت
النار في بيوتهم التي تأذن الله بخرابها فعادت قاعاً...”

This emphasis on the humiliation inflicted upon the Spanish leaders was probably motivated by the fact that leaders represented the prestige of their nations. For the same reason, and because the Spanish-Granadine conflict was often pictured as of a religious nature, Granadine writers used to concentrate upon the humiliation and ignominy inflicted on the Christian priests, and the shaming of

(1) Remiro, p. 284; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 339.
(2) Remiro, p. 277.

Christian images, crosses, churches, church-bells and other symbols. The reason for this was that just as leaders represented national prestige, priests and clergy, and their symbols, represented religious prestige. This element appears in one of Muḥammad V's letters concerning the Granadine conquest of Ubeda.⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who wrote the letter on behalf of King Muḥammad V, says that the victorious Granadine army killed the city's priests, destroyed its imposing palaces and churches and burnt the crosses:

”...وتخلفنا قصورها السامية قيعانا ، وكنايسها الحافلة أثرا لا عيانا ، وقد أخذ
الله صلبانها ، واستعجل النيران رهبانها ...”

In part of his aforementioned letter sent to the tomb of the Prophet, Muḥammad V describes the result of the Granadine attack upon Jaen, concentrating upon the religious aspect. He rejoices in the destruction of the churches, the ignominy inflicted upon Christian symbols and crosses, the silence of the church-bells and the sorrow of the priests because of that:

”...فهيلت الكنان ، وابيدت الشيب والشبان ، وكسرت الصليبان ، وفجع بهدم
الكنائس الرهبان ، واهبطت النواقيس من مراقبها العالية ، وخلعت ألسنتها
الكاذبة ، ونقل ما استطاعته الأيدي المجاذبة ...”

It is noticeable that Granadine writers exaggerate the Spaniards' losses, and there are, it would seem, sound reasons for this. They may have done so to reassure the Granadine people of the strength and efficiency of their

(1) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 84; Remiro, p. 295.

army, which could hold the Spanish danger at bay, despite the smallness of its numbers. On the other hand, the Granadine writers may have exaggerated the amount of booty and the number of male and female Christian captives in order to attract Muslim people and rulers reading or hearing of such reports, and to encourage them to take part in the war in order to get their own share of booty, slaves and women.

In some cases the Granadine writers, especially those working in the Naṣrid court, exaggerated the amount of booty, the number of Christian male and female captives and the destruction inflicted upon Spanish cities and crops, in order to distract the attention of the Granadine people from the failure of some attacks on Spanish territories, and to try to convince the Granadines that even these attacks were successful.⁽¹⁾

E- Victories Viewed as Presages of Further Successes

The Granadines, as we have already seen, are invariably portrayed as achieving victories against the Spaniards, seizing Spanish territories, killing thousands of the enemy, destroying their buildings, churches and crops, gaining loads of booty and money, and leading columns of Spanish male and female captives. Besides, the

(1) For examples see: Dīwān Lisān, p. 565; Ihāṭa, vol. 2, p. 84; Remiro, p. 295.

Granadine writers described the jubilation of the Granadines over their victories. In one of his poems⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb compares the Granadines' feelings to those of the Spaniards after the Muslim conquest of the fortress of Banu al-Bashīr in 743/1342. He says that the meaning of the name of the fortress "Banu al-Bashīr" (Sons of the Bringer of Glad Tidings) was of good omen to the Granadines. Ibn al-Khaṭīb associates the word "bishāra" (glad tidings) with the name of the fortress, hoping that the seizure of this fortress would be the forerunner of further Granadine successes against the Spaniards:

كان افتتاح بني البشير مبدأ سبب البشارة بعده موصول

Making a comparison between the feelings of the Muslims and those of the Spaniards towards the Muslim victory Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:

سُرْتُ بموقعه النفوس وانسه نبأ على سمع العدو وثقيل

While they exaggerate Spanish losses, Granadine writers described their own side's losses as insignificant and unworthy of mention. In part of his letter to the Granadine people soon after he broke into Utrera in 768/1366,⁽²⁾ King Muḥammad V says that while many thousands of the Utrerans were killed and many of their men and women taken captive, Granadine losses were very small:

(1) Dīwān Lisān, p. 565.

(2) Remiro, p. 284; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 339.

ولم يُصَبِّ من اخوانكم المسلمين عدد يُذكر ولا رجل يُعتبر، فتح هني، وصنع
سني، ووعد وفي، فاستبشروا بفضل الله تعالى ونعمته . . . ”

The Granadine writers used to end their poems and letters written on the subject of Granadine victories against the Spaniards, by urging the addressees, whether they were rulers or ordinary people, Granadines or other Muslims, to make efforts towards gaining further victories. Such was the contribution of literature to the political life of the state. In the congratulatory poems recited before Granadine leaders after their victorious achievements, those leaders were often urged to gain further victories against the Spaniards.

Ibn Simāk al-‘Āmilī ends one of his congratulatory poems recited before Yūsuf I, after the king's victory at Carcabuey,⁽¹⁾ by saying that the conquest of Carcabuey should be the beginning of further and more significant victories:

فَتَحَّتْ سَيُوفُكَ كَرْكَبُولَ وَإِنِّهِ فِي الْفَتْحِ عَنَّا لَمَّا هُوَ أَكْبَرُ

After Yūsuf I's victory in the Straits of Gibraltar in 740/1339, Ibn Ridwān recited a congratulatory poem before the king.⁽²⁾ Ibn Ridwān ends this poem by addressing the

(1) Katība, p. 199; Durar, vol. 4, p. 295. Arabic: Karkabūl

(2) Ihāta, MS, fol. 97; Jadhwa, p. 246.

king and saying that since his ships had wiped out the Spaniards at sea, these ships were certainly going to wipe them out on land:

سُتْهِلِكُ مَنْ قَدْ كَانَ بِالْبَرِّ مِنْهُمْ كَمَا أَهْلَكْتُ مَنْ كَانَ فِي الْبَحْرِ غَافِلًا

Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote a poem congratulating King Yūsuf I on the death of Alfonso XI in Gibraltar in 750/1349.⁽¹⁾

The poet ends his poem by imploring King Yūsuf I to exploit the disorder in Castile and the defeat of the Castilians by conquering their lands without any delay and recovering the Andalusian cities, which, he says, belong to the Muslims:

وَدُونَكَ فَافْتَحْ كُلَّ مَا أَبْهَمَ الْعَدَا وَادْرُعْ دَوَالِلَ اللَّهِ عِنْدَ اضْطِرَابِهِ
وَعَاجِلْهُ بِالْبَيْضِ الرِّقَاقِ الْقَوَاضِبِ بِمَوْجِبِ تَقْوَى أَنْتَ أَقْرَبُ عَاصِبِ
إِذَا قِيلَ أَرْضُ اللَّهِ إِرْثُ عِبَادِهِ

Similar encouragement is also observed in all letters sent by the Granadine court to the Granadine people, or to the leaders and people of other Muslim countries, concerning Granadine victories over the Spaniards. In all literary works concerning these victories, there is also another type of encouragement: the beseeching of God's support for the Granadine people and leaders, to enable them to achieve more victories against the Spaniards. In his congratulatory poem to Abū Yūsuf al-Marīnī, who defeated the Spaniards in 673/1274,⁽²⁾ Abū

(1) Dīwān Lisān, p. 258; Lamḥa, p. 108.

(2) Dhakhira, p. 182; Anīs, p. 230.

Muhammad Ibn Ashqilūla ends the poem by praying to God to accord to Abū Yūsuf everlasting honour and safety, so that he could continue to protect Andalusia and Islam with his sword:

وَأَسْلَمَ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَأَمَةٍ أَنْتَ الْمَلَأُ لَهَا وَأَنْتَ الْمَفْزَعُ
وَحَمَاكَ مَنْ يَحْمِي بِسَيْفِكَ دِينَهُ وَكَفَاكَ مَا يُخْشَى وَمَا يُتَوَقَّعُ

An anonymous Mudejar from Alicante wrote a zajal describing the end of the Aragonese siege of Almeria in 709/1309.⁽¹⁾ The author of this zajal starts it by asking God to aid Muslims and to help them thwart the plans of those he calls "the unbelievers".

كُنْ فِي عَوْنِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ يَا إِلَهَ الْعَالَمِينَ
.....
اهْلِكْ يَا رَبَّ الْعَدُو
لَا تَبْلُغْ مَقْصِدُوا
قَدْ تَرَى مَا يَعْبُدُوا
هَؤُلَاءِ الْكَافِرِينَ رَبِّ رَدِّ هُمْ خَائِبِينَ

In the last strophe of this zajal, as in the first, the zajjal asks God to aid Muslims, saying:

صَدَقَ الْقَيْسِيُّ وَقَالَ
وَرَغِبَ لَذِي الْجَنَالِ
عَسَى أَنْ يَقْبَلَ سَوْأَالِ
مَنْ دَعَا الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْ يَكُونَ اللَّهُ مَعِينَ
لِجَمِيعِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ

(1) "Un Zajal Hispanique," Al-Andalus, vol. 6, 1941, pp. 382-392.

III

The Treatment of Granadine Victories
Affects all Forms of Writing in
Prose and Poetry

The influence of the Granadine victories on the Granadine literature of the period did not only produce a particular form of writing practically specialising in describing those victories, and with distinct characteristics and techniques, but also left its mark on most of the literary genres, and the style of the Granadine writers.

All poetic styles, even those used in love poetry,⁽¹⁾ were influenced in one way or another, by these victories, representing as they did an important aspect of the martial, political and social life of Granada.

The first poetic style to be influenced by the Granadine victories was that used in eulogies. Many of the Granadine poets devoted their skills to the composition of eulogies. Most prominent among them, as was to be expected, were the court poets who occupied high governmental offices in Granada. Most of the

(1) For example see Dīwān Yūsuf, p. 156.

literary works which have come down to us from the Nasrid era are related in one way or another to the affairs of the Nasrid kings. This seems to have been the reason for the existence of many eulogies, since every poet wanted to immortalise his king's renown. These poems were usually kept in public and private libraries. The writers of these eulogies, since they were either viziers or court writers, were also able to keep their works in the royal library and to make them known in the cultural circles of Granada.

Many, if not all, of these eulogies were associated with victory and the dreams of victory. This was because the Granadine people and the poets thought of conquests or victories as being primarily the work or achievement of their kings. The Granadine poets, therefore used to praise their kings for their constant successes against the enemy which protect Andalusia and Islam. If the particular king receiving praise had not himself won any battle, the poets used to praise him in the light of his descent from a family which had gained many victories in the past. In such a case the poets tried to urge their king to follow the example of his ancestors. They therefore talked about his determination and eagerness to attack his enemies. In their eulogies the Granadine writers also investigated the characteristics of the ideal hero who would be able to protect the Granadines and Islam.

Among the Granadine eulogists was Ṣāliḥ Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī (d. 684/1285). He wrote many poems in praise of Muḥammad I and Muḥammad II.⁽¹⁾ One of the best poems he wrote begins with the verse:⁽²⁾

سرى والحبُّ أمرٌ لا يُرامُ وقد أغرى به الشوقُ الغرامُ

The poet devotes a considerable part of this poem to extolling the bravery of his king. He says that the king was valiant, of great renown, and his name was a war cry among his enemies. He says also that King Muḥammad was as courageous as his ancestors, the Naṣrids,⁽³⁾ who were the early conquerors of Andalusia. He then praises the king for making peace with his enemies after defeating them, adding that this peace was in itself another victory:

وَحْشُوا الدرعَ أروعَ غالِبي	يُرَاعُ بِذِكْرِ الْجَيْشِ اللّهُامُ
إِذَا مَا سَلَّ سَيْفَ الْعِزْمِ يَوْمًا	عَلَى أَمْرِ فَسَلِّمْ يَا سَلَامُ
تَنَاهَى مَجْدُهُ كَرَمًا وَيَأْسًا	فَمَا يُدْرِى أَمْحِيَا أَمْ حِمَامُ
نَعْتَهُ إِلَى الْعَكَارِمِ وَالْمَعَالِي	سَرَاةً مَنْ بَنَى نَصْرَ كَرَامُ
.....	
بِشْفَرِكَ يَا مُحَمَّدُ عَزَّ دِينُ	لَهُ بَعْدَ الْإِلَهِ بِكَ اعْتِمَادُ
وَيَأْسُكَ تَمَّ لِلْإِسْلَامِ سَلَامُ	وَرَغْبُ السَّلَامِ نَصْرٌ مُسْتَدَامُ
وَكَانَ مَرَامُهُ صَعْبًا وَلَكِنْ	بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ قَدْ سَهِّلَ الْمَرَامُ

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- (1) See for example: "Alwāfi/al-Rundī"/ed. Jaʿfar Mājid, Hawliyyāt al-Jāmiʿa al-Tunisiyya, vol. 6, 1969, p. 181; Iḥāṭa, MS, fol. 67-70; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 489-490.
- (2) "Alwāfi/al-Rundī"/ed. Jaʿfar Mājid, p. 181: Iḥāṭa, MS, fol. 67.
- (3) See above, pp. 4-7.
- (*) In Iḥāṭa:bishiʿrika.

As al-Rundī was a famous poet whose verses were collected and known to many poets after him, it seems that many poets tried to emulate or simply imitate his poetry. Muḥammad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn al-Shudaīd wrote a poem⁽¹⁾ similar to one by al-Rundī in poetical metre, rhyme, and even in many of the ideas expressed in it. Ibn al-Shudaīd wrote this poem in praise of King Yūsuf I. He starts with the verse:

لنا في كل مكرمة مقامٌ ومن فوق النجوم لنا مقامٌ

The poet boasts on behalf of the Naṣrid kings and then turns to praising his own king. He devotes most of this praise to extolling the valour of Yūsuf I and his ancestors, praising the Naṣrids for defeating their enemies and protecting Andalusia and Islam, saying:

لنا الأيدي الطوالُ بكل صوبٍ	يَهْزِبُهُ لَدَى الرُّوعِ الحِسامُ
ونحن اللابسون لكل درعٍ	يَصِيبُ السُّمَرِ مِنْهُمْ انْشِلَامُ
بأندلس لنا أيامُ حربٍ	مواقِفُهُمْ فِي الدُّنْيَا عِظَامُ
ثوى منها قلوبُ الرومِ خوفٍ	تَخَوَّفَ مِنْهُ فِي الْمَهْدِ الْغَلَامُ
حمينا جانبَ الدينِ احتساباً	فَهَا هُوَ لَا يَهَانُ وَلَا يُضَامُ
وتحت الراية الحمراءً منا	كَتَابُ لَا تُطَاقُ وَلَا تُرَامُ
... الخ	

Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Jābir al-A'mā seems also to have imitated al-Rundī's poem. He wrote a poem in

(1) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 386; Nathīr, p. 197; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 237.

praise of King Yūsuf I beginning with the verse:⁽¹⁾

عليّ لكلّ ذي كرمٍ ذِمّامٌ ولي بعدارك المجدِ اهتمامٌ

This poem is similar to the two previous poems in its poetical metre and rhyme scheme. It is also close to the poem of Ibn al-Shudaïd in many of its ideas, construction and style.

Among the famous poets who wrote panegyrics on a large scale was Abu al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn al-Jayyāb (d. 749/1347). He wrote a poem in praise of King Muḥammad III.⁽²⁾ It begins with the verse:

زارت تجرّ نخوةً أذيا لها هيفاً تخلطُ بالنفّارِ دلالها

After a long romantic introduction⁽³⁾ which includes a description of nature, Ibn al-Jayyāb praises his king for having many virtues such as generosity and courage:

الواهب الآلاف قبل سؤالها فكفى العفاة سؤالها ومطالها
القاتل الآلاف قبل قراءها فكفى العداة قراءها ونزالها

"Who gives thousands as alms to the poor
before they ask him,
saving them the trouble of begging and
the distress of delay.
Who kills thousands of his enemies before
lining up for the battle, saving them the
trouble of fighting".

(1) *Ihāta*, vol. 2, p. 331; *Nathīr*, p. 200.

(2) *Nathīr Farā'id*, p. 240; *Nafh*, vol. 5, p. 436.

(3) This opening and many openings in Andalusian poetry are very similar to the nasīb convention in pre-Islamic poetry.

He goes on describing the consternation in the ranks of the enemy when they catch sight of King Muhammad

III:

وَإِذَا عُدَاؤُكَ أَبْصُرُوكَ تَيَقَّنُوا	أَنَّ الْمَنِيَّةَ سَلَّطَتْ رَبِّهَا لَهَا
بَدَّدَتْ شَمْلَهُمْ بِبَيْضِ صَوَارِمٍ	رَوَّيَتْ مِنْ عَلَقِ الْكُمَاؤِ نِصَالَهَا
وَأَبْحَتْ أَرْضَهُمْ فَأَصْبَحَ أَهْلُهَا	جَزْراً تَغَادِرُ نَهْبَةً أَمْوَالَهَا

"If your enemies catch sight of you they will be sure that "Fate" has empowered its beast of prey (over them). You have dispersed them by white swords whose blades you have brought to be quenched by the blood of their knights. And you seized their land killing its people and looting their properties".

Ibn al-Jayyāb then praises his king on account of his noble descent. He turns to praising the ancestors of the king, attributing to them the protection of Andalusia and the thwarting of the Spaniards, saying:

وَلَا رِضْرَانَدَلْسٍ مَفَاخِرُ أَنْتُمْ	أَرَايُهَا أَضْفَيْتُمْ سِرِّهَا لَهَا
فَحَمَيْتُمْ أَرْجَاءَهَا وَكَفَيْتُمْ	أَعْدَاءَهَا وَهَدَيْتُمْ ضَلَالَهَا

... الخ

This poem seems to have been admired and imitated by Abu al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Ibn Aḥmad al-Uḥaimir al-Hāshimī al-Mālaqī. He wrote a poem⁽¹⁾ in which he adheres to the poetical metre and rhyme of Ibn al-Jayyāb's poem. In his poem al-Uḥaimir praises King Ismā‘īl Ibn Faraj, the fifth Naṣrid king. His poem begins with the verse:

الآن تطلبُ وِدَّها ووصلها	من بعد ما شغلت بهجرتك بالها
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(1) Nathīr Farā'id, p. 236; Nathīr, p. 150; Katība, p. 64.

This poem is also very similar to that of Ibn al-Jayyāb in its content.

The court of King Yūsuf I was crowded with distinguished writers such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn Juzayy, Ibn Shalbatūr and others like them. They left a great number of poems written in praise of the king.⁽¹⁾ In them he was praised for his valiance, his ability to overcome his enemies and to destroy them. The poets also praised him for protecting Islam and Andalusia, and for relying on God to give him success in war.

The reign of King Muḥammad V was also rich in eulogies since the court of this king attracted a great number of poets such as Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn al-Ḥājj and others. They left a great number of panegyrics in praise of King Muḥammad V.⁽²⁾ Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī compiled a special dīwān in praise of King Muḥammad V and entitled it Qarā'in al-Qaṣr wa Maḥāsin al-'Asr fī Madḥ Amīr al-Muslimīn Abī 'Abd

(1) For examples see: Iḥāta, vol. 2, p. 361; Nathīr Farā'id, p. 229; Nathīr, p. 285; Durra, vol. 2, pp. 266 & 267; Dīwān Lisān, pp. 340, 343, 348, 354, 365, 398, 401, 420, 426, 429, 491, 495, 533, 581 & 604.

(2) See, for example: Ta'rif, p. 881; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 46, vol. 6, pp. 75 & 189 & vol. 7, pp. 171, 178, 190, 191 & 292; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 21, 39, 40, 42, 47, 60, 65, 81, 82 & 164; Nathīr, p. 85; Katība, pp. 104, 173 & 284.

Allāh Ibn Nasr. All these poets praised the king for the same virtues that had been attributed to his father. In his eulogies, for example, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī praises King Muḥammad V and his family for inflicting extensive destruction on the farms, properties and buildings of their enemies. He lauds their courage, determination, their protection of Islam, the humiliation and crushing defeats they inflicted on the infidels. In one of these poems, ⁽¹⁾ for example, he praises the Nasrid family in these words:

حُرُوبُهُمْ لَقِحتْ عَنْ جِيالٍ	جَحَاجِحَةٌ قَادَةُ ذَادَةٍ
سِوْفٌ لَهُمْ حُودِثَتْ بِالصِّقَالِ	تُحَادِثُ أَرْوَاحَ أَعْدَائِهِمْ

He then turns to praising King Muḥammad V, saying:

هُمَا تَعَوَّدَ بَرَّحَ الصِّیَالِ	وَأَمْضَاهُمْ عَزْمَةٌ فِي الْوَعْدِ
أَفَاضَتْ عَلَى الْكُونِ نَوْرَ الْجَمَالِ	مُحَمَّدُ الْمَرْتَضَى لِلَّيْلِ
فَعَوَّضَ وَابْلَهَا بِالْوَيْيَالِ	وَبِالرَّغْمِ دَوَّخَ أَرْضَ الْعِيدِ
بِجَيْشٍ يَكَاثِرُ عَدَّ الرِّمَالِ	وَمَدَّ الْخَطَا فِي رِمَالِهَا
تَعَاظَمَ مِنْهُمْ حَوْسُ الْخِلَالِ	وَجَاسَ خِلَالَ الدِّيَارِ الَّتِي
	النَّخ

In the 9th/15 century, the Granadine poets continued to praise their kings. ⁽²⁾ We have, for example, the poem of Muḥammad al-ʿArabī al-ʿUqailī in praise of Boabdil, the last Nasrid Muslim king in Spain, and his father Abu

(1) Qarāʿin, p. 32.

(2) See, for examples, : Azhār, vol. 1, p. 146; Nathīr, p. 85; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 552.

al-Ḥasan 'Alī.⁽¹⁾ In this poem, after a love prelude in pre-Islamic fashion, Al'Uqailī praises his king for his valour and determination in the struggle against his enemies. He says:

<p>قد كان للأملِك مسك الختام في صدق بأس ومضاء اعترام تنقلها أبناء سام وحمام والسيف من طلي أعاديهِ دام</p>	<p>ابن أبي الحسن الأسرى الذي ضرغام قد أنجب شهبها لله حامى وسامى فأفَاعِلِه دام له النصر الذي جاءه</p>
<p>زُهرُ النجوم وهو بدُر التمام</p>	<p>لله منك ملِكُ جنْدُه</p>

Eulogies were not restricted to the praise of the Naṣrid kings only. Many of them were written in praise of Granadine ministers such as Abū 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Ḥakīm⁽²⁾ (d. 708/1308), the prime minister of King Muḥammad III; Ibn al-Jayyāb,⁽³⁾ the prime minister of Yūsuf I; Ibn al-Khaṭīb⁽⁴⁾ and others. Those ministers and prime ministers were praised for assisting their kings in maintaining a peaceful and prosperous life in Granada, and for helping them achieve victories over their enemies. They were also praised for their wisdom and good policies,

(1) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 552.
 (2) For examples see: Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 452, 453, 538, 546 & 548; Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 376 & 465; Dīwān Lisān, pp. 424 & 262.
 (3) See: Dīwān Lisān, p. 537.
 (4) For examples see: Katība, pp. 200, 202, 204, 244 & 284; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 75; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 164.

which were said to accomplish or achieve what armies were unable to achieve.⁽¹⁾

Praise of the Nasrid and Moroccan kings and their military leaders and ministers is also observable in muwashshahs, zajals as well as in various forms of prose compositions. All letters sent out from Granada include in their opening addresses paeons of praise and many glorious and honorific titles of those kings. In these opening addresses kings are usually hailed as protectors of Islam and Andalusia, conquerors of the infidels' lands, destroyers and humiliators of their enemies and the builders of the glory of Islam. These opening addresses describe Granada as the country of the holy war and the land of sacrifice for God and Islam.

The genre of the khutba was also put to use under the impetus of the new political and martial developments, and particularly in consequence of the Granadine victories. This genre is connected with Muslim worship to a remarkable extent. Muslims consider the khutba an essential part of the Friday prayer. The orators of the Granada mosques were selected and favoured by their kings and had among them a number of the most eloquent and elegant people. The Granadine kings seem to have wanted to

(1) For example see Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 453.

control the khutbas so that they should be in agreement with their political line. The khutba came to be an outstanding example of the interaction between religion, politics and literature. The minbars of the mosques appeared to be a communication channel between the king and his subjects. Khutbas included news, political analyses, and court announcements. News of the Granadine victories was publicized via the minbars of oration. The call to arms was also announced through these minbars. The khutbas, of course, also included prayers to God to support the king and grant him the capacity to fight his enemies.⁽¹⁾

The introductions and conclusions of books written for the Nasrid kings included long laudatory passages in their honour. The writers of those books praised their kings for sparing no effort in defending Granada and protecting Islam.⁽²⁾ Abū Bakr Ibn ʿĀsim, in the introduction to his book Hadāʾiq al-Azāhir,⁽³⁾ speaks in praise of his King Abū ʿAbd Allāh Ibn Abu al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Nasr:

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- (1) See: Dīwān Yūsuf, p. 109; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 394; Dīwān Lisān, p. 518.
- (2) For examples see the introduction of Tuhfat al-Anfus; Hilyat al-Fursān, p. 240; The introduction of Maqālāt al-Udabaʾ of Ibn Hudhail; the introduction of Hadāʾiq al-Azāhir of Ibn ʿĀsim. See also what Ibn al-Khaṭīb says about the introduction of his book: Turfat al-ʿAsr (Dīwān Lisān, p. 517).
- (3) Pp. 2-4.

”... ونستوهب من الله سبحانه لهذا المقام العليّ المؤيّد الجهادي النصري
اليوسفي تأييدا وتمكينا ومجدا دائما وعزا مكينا ونصرا عزيزا وفتحا مبينا...
مقام مولانا وعصمة ديننا ودينانا...، حامي حمى دين الايمان البازل نفسه
الكريمة في رضى الرحمن، مذلّ الكفار وممهد البلاد والأقطار، المحيي بحسن
سيرته وخلوص سيرته مآثر جدوده الانصار، ناصر الدنيا والدين، أمير
المسلمين الغني بالله ابي عبد الله بن مولانا أمير المسلمين ابي الحجاج بن
مولانا أمير المسلمين ابي الوليد بن نصر، وصل الله تعالى سعوده وحرس
وجوده ونصر ألويته السعيدة وينوده، فهو الذي نصر الله به السنة والكتاب،
وأوى الاسلام وأهله منه الى أمنح حمى وأعزّ جناب، واختصه في هذه الحضرة
الجزيرية الأندلسية بالقيام بفريضة الجهاد، وتكتيب الكتائب، وتجنيد
الاجناد،... الخ”

"... and we hope that God will bestow
upon the eminence of our king the
support, the strength, the lasting
honour, the durable might, remarkable
victory, and clear success. He is the
shelter of our lives and religion. He
is the protector of the Faith. He has
devoted himself to satisfying the
Merciful. And he is the humiliator of
the infidels. He consolidated control
over his state and renewed, by his
piety and good policy, the glory of his
grandfathers, the Ansār. He is the
supporter of the Muslims' survival and
religion (in Granada), the prince of
Muslims: Al-Ghanī Billāh Abū 'Abd
Allāh Ibn Abū al-Ḥajjāj Ibn Abū al -
Walīd Ibn Naṣr, māy God preserve his
good fortune; protect him and decree
victory to his standards and flags,
since he has often defended the Quran
and the tradition of the Prophet. He
was the shelter of Islam and Muslims,
and he was chosen by God to perform the
duty of jihād and to prepare his
squadrons and armies for it."

The Granadine victories were also celebrated in the muwashshahs in which the kings were again praised for achieving victories and for waging a holy war.⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote a muwashshah in praise of King Yūsuf I,⁽²⁾ apparently on the occasion of ‘Īd al-Fitr. After five strophes describing gardens and nature, Ibn al-Khaṭīb moves on to mention the virtues of his king and of the Naṣrid family. He says that his king was descended from a noble family who glorified Islam and were divinely supported. He adds that the feast will be the start of a new age in which the king will gain victories over his enemies. Referring to the Naṣrids he says:

هم ملوكُ الوري يلا تُنيا
مهدوا الدينَ زينوا الدنيا
وحمى الله منهم العلّيا
بالامام المرقع الخطر
والغمام المبارك القطر
يا عمادَ العلّاء والمجد
أطلع العيدُ طالع السعد
ووفى الفتحُ فيه بالوعد
وتجلّت فيه على القصر
غرد من طلائع النصر

Ibn Zamrak and Ibn al-Khaṭīb used to write poems and muwashshahs, in praise of their kings, which started

(1) For examples see: Azhār, vol. 1, p. 314; Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 11 & 66.

(2) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 66; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 314.

with references to the break of dawn or the early morning.⁽¹⁾ In one of his morning muwashshahs⁽²⁾ (sabūhiyyāt), Ibn Zamrak praises his King Muḥammad V for his determination, firmness, steadfastness and bravery in war. He also extols the valiance of his king and his ability to win more and more victories by frightening his enemies, defeating them, gaining a great deal of booty, humiliating the unbelievers and consequently enhancing the glory of Islam by God's help. Addressing his king he says:

.....
نُصِرْتَ بِالرَّعْبِ فِي الْقُلُوبِ وَالْبَيْضُ لَمْ تَبْرَحِ الْغَمُودُ
عَنَاءُ اللَّهِ فِيكَ حَلَّتْ بِسَعْدِهِ الدِّينَ يَنْصُرُ
وَالْخَلْقُ فِي عَصْرِهِ تَمَلَّتْ غَنَاءاً لَيْسَ تُحْصِرُ
مَوْلَايَ يَا نَكْتَةَ الزَّمَانِ دَارِ بَعْدَ تَرْضَى الْفَلَكَ
جَلَلْتَ بِالْيَمَنِ وَالْأَمَانِ كُلِّ مَلِكٍ وَمَا مَلِكُ
جَنُودِكَ الْغَلَبَ حَيْثُ حَلَّتْ بِالْفَتْحِ وَالنَّصْرِ تَخْفِرُ
وَعَادَةُ اللَّهِ فِيكَ دَلَّتْ أَنَّكَ بِالْكَفْرِ تَظْفَرُ
..... الخ

Ibn Zamrak also wrote muwashshahs which may be termed "aṣīliyyāt", which are introduced by themes of sunset, and in which he praises his king. In the introductions of the sabūhiyyāt, and the aṣīliyyāt Ibn Zamrak used to describe the beauty of nature, gardens, flowers,

(1) For examples see: Nafh, vol. 2, pp. 249, 251 & 255; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 186, 189 & 194.

(2) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 249; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 186. See pp. 378 below.

fresh air, birds and the rays of the sun. After such introductions he usually turned to the praise of his king.⁽¹⁾ Ibn Zamrak seized every possible opportunity to praise his king for winning victories over the Spaniards. He used the muwashshah also to congratulate the Granadine king on his recovery from any illness. In one such muwashshah he says that the recovery of his king would allow more victories to be won, and, therefore, every Muslim should be delighted at tidings of the recovery.⁽²⁾ Muwashshahs were also recited on the king's arrival at the major cities of his kingdom.⁽³⁾ In addition, Ibn Zamrak used to praise his king on his return from hunting trips. In one of his muwashshahs Ibn Zamrak describes the hunting field and the return from it of King Yūsuf II.⁽⁴⁾ He portrays this return as being like one after a conquest, likening the pursuit of game to the pursuit of the enemy. He considers these successful trips of his king as omens for successful assaults upon his enemies, saying:

.....

بكل صنع مستجدٍ غريب
"نصرٌ من الله وفتحٌ قريب"
لأنه الفأل بصيد العدا

وتحميدُ الناس نجاحَ الإياب
ويكتبُ الفأل على كل باب
ما لذة الأملِك إلا القنصُ

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- (1) For examples of the sunset muwashshahs see: Nafh, vol. 7, p. 253; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 192.
 (2) For examples see: Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 256-257, 260 & 261; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 199.
 (3) For example see: Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 257 & 258-260; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 195 & 197.
 (4) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 264; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 203.

كم شاردٍ جرّع فيه الغصص وأوردَ المحروبَ وردَ السّردى
وكم بذّا الفحص لنا من حصص قد جُمع البأسُ بها والنّدى
.....

Many muwashshahs were also written extolling Granada and its cities, towns, palaces, gardens and rivers. These muwashshahs also include praise of the Granadine kings who built the palaces and protected the cities by their struggle against their enemies.⁽¹⁾

* * *

The congratulatory poems written on the occasion of the feasts of al-Fitr, al-Adhā and al-Nairūz also celebrated the victories of the Granadine kings⁽²⁾ The writers of these congratulatory verses praised the king for his triumphs and for his services to his people. They associated their joy at the feast with that which they felt at his victories. The implication seemed to be that the Granadine people would not have been free to celebrate their feasts were it not for the victories of their king over the surrounding enemies. The festival

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- (1) For more examples see: Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 240 & 242; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 177 & 179.
(2) For examples see: Diwan Lisān, pp. 231, 267, 401, 405, 501, 550, 581, 589, 609, 613, 631, 634, 657 ...; Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 171, 206, 215 & 290; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 21, 111 & 121.

was the appropriate time for the poet to stand before his king, to announce that another period of time had passed and that a new stage in his reign was about to commence. The poets, therefore, applied themselves to a consideration of the achievements of their kings in all fields, and especially on the battlefield. They would praise their kings for destroying their enemies and wiping out their power by frequent attacks. They used also to represent the victories as an extension or continuation of those of the Ansār, the alleged ancestors of the Naṣrid kings. In these poems, the poets often reminded the king of the victories of his predecessors, the Naṣrid kings in Granada; this generally happened when the king, who was the subject of congratulation, had not yet gained a victory or when he was still new to the throne.⁽¹⁾ Ibn Zamrak was one of those poets who restricted most of their poetic compositions to festival congratulations. Ibn Zamrak wrote long poems congratulating the Kings Muḥammad V and Yūsuf II, and celebrating their victories over the Spaniards. He praised them for thwarting their enemies, humiliating them and protecting Granada and Islam. One of his poems written on a festival occasion is that

(1) For an example see: Dīwān Lisān, p. 589.

which begins with the verse:⁽¹⁾

بشرى كما وُضِحَ الزمانُ وأُجْمِلُ يَغْشَى سناها كُلُّ مَنْ يَتَمَهَّلُ

Most of it is devoted to a description of the achievements of King Muhammad V, on the battlefield, his valour, his protection of Islam, his preservation of Andalusia, his thwarting of his enemies and overcoming their threat. The poet adds that the king prevented the fall of Granada. Ibn Zamrak aimed at representing the victories of his king as of special value, saying that these conquests contributed to the survival of Islam in Granada after it had been on the point of collapse. For this, he endows his king with the title of caliph, saying:

أُسَدُ الْفِلا مِنْ حَوْلِها تَتَسَلَّلُ	يا ناصراً لاسلامٍ وهو فريسةٌ
فَلَأَنْتَ أَكْفَى وَالْعِنايةُ أَكْفَلُ	لا يُهْمِلُ اللهُ الَّذِينَ رَعَيْتَهُمْ
أَوْى إِلَيْكَ وَأَنْتَ نِعَمَ الْمُؤَيَّلُ	لا يَبْعُدُ النَّصْرُ الْعَزِيزُ فَإِنَّهُ
وَلَكَّانَ دِينَ النَّصْرِ فِيهِ يَمْتَثَلُ	لَوْلَاكَ كَانَ الدِّينُ يُغْمَطُ حَقُّهُ
وَجَنَى الْفَتْوحِ لَعَنَ عَذَاكَ مُؤَمِّلُ	لَكِنْ جَنِيَتِ الْفَتْحَ مِنْ شَجَرِ الْقَنَا
مِنْ دُونِهِ بَابُ الْمَطامِعِ مُقَفَّلُ	وَلَقَبْلُ ما اسْتَفْتَحْتَ كُلَّ مَنَاحِ

He then goes on to describe the Granadine squadrons, soldiers, horses, swords, shields, arrows, bows, and all other weapons exhibited on the day of the festival. He sees these as contributory factors to more victories. He, therefore, ends his poem by congratulating his king

(1) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 206; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 111.

and asking God to continue His support of Muḥammad V in order to enable him to win more victories and to protect Islam.

* * *

The Granadine poets appeared before their kings on many other social and religious occasions, such as the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday, the birth or circumcision of a new prince, the establishment of a new palace, wedding parties, the king's return from a hunting tour, his arrival in a city, and army reviews. The poets took advantage of all these occasions to praise the king for his power and for his victories over his enemies, inciting him to launch more attacks upon the Spaniards and even to recapture the Andalusian cities occupied by them. The Granadine poets managed to find connections between any occasion they were celebrating and the political and military situation in their country.

The tradition of celebrating the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday seems to have been unknown in Granada before the Naṣrid era. It is said that this tradition was brought to Granada from Morocco by Abu al-‘Abbās al-‘Azafī, who transferred it from Iraq.⁽¹⁾ The Marīnid kings of

(1) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 39.

Morocco were very keen on celebrating this occasion.⁽¹⁾ Abu al-‘Abbās al-‘Azafī wrote a book entitled al-Durr al-Munazzam fī Mawlid al-Nabī al-Mu‘azzam,^(*) in which he protested against the way the Granadine people followed the Spanish custom of celebrating the Christian new year.⁽²⁾ Thus the Granadines' celebration of the Prophet's birthday and the exaggerated form it acquired may have been a reaction to Spanish influence, since they may have realized that the Spanish threat was not only endangering their survival but their religion as well. This made them cling determinedly to their religious observances. They may have wanted to remember the Prophet in whose cause they claimed they were fighting, firstly to ask for his mediation with God to support the Granadines and relieve them from their grievous situation, and secondly to imitate the way he dealt with his enemies. Another reason for holding celebrations on the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday was that the Naṣrid rulers of Granada, who claimed their descent from the Anṣār, wanted to indicate that they still supported the Prophet and his doctrines by celebrating his birthday and fighting for his religion, like the Anṣār who had supported the Prophet early in his life in Medina. The very weakness of the Granadine

(1) Ta‘rīf, p. 881.

(*) Ed. F. de la Granja, Al-Andalus, vol. XXXIV, 1969, pp. 1-53.

(2) Al-Durr al-Munazzam, pp. 19-21.

Muslims may have recalled to their minds the time of the Prophet's life, when Muslim power was on the ascendancy. Whatever the reason for celebrating this occasion, its observance by the Granadines was clearly exaggerated. The celebrations included singing, instrumental music, banquets, army reviews, and the recitation of poetry in public gatherings.⁽¹⁾ All poems written on these occasions spoke of the Prophet's struggle to spread Islam and of the wars he fought. The Granadine poets also spoke in these poems of the spread of Islam into Andalusia, and the struggle of the Andalusian Muslims in Granada. They also praised their kings and described their struggle and wars against the "infidels" in the cause of Islam and the doctrines of the Prophet.⁽²⁾ One of these poems is written by Ibn Zamrak,⁽³⁾ and it was recited before King Muḥammad V on the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday which coincided with Granadine preparations for an expedition against Spanish territories. It begins with the verse:

لو كنتُ أعطى من لقاءك سُـولا لم أتخذُ برقَ الغمامِ رَسـولا

Ibn Zamrak starts his poem with a long platonic love prelude after which he discloses his longing to visit the

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- (1) See: Azhār, vol. 2, p. 173; Katība, p. 252; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 183 L. 5; Ta'rif, p. 881.
(2) For examples see: Nafh, vol. 5, p. 46, vol. 6, pp. 115 & 227, vol. 7, pp. 179, 285 & 290; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 96; Dīwān Lisān, pp. 367, 388 & 575; Qarā'in, p. 57.
(3) Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 96-103.

Prophet's tomb. He then turns to a description of Mecca and Medina and their holiness and religious importance. The main part of the poem lists the miracles of the Prophet, praising him, and apologizing to him for the poet's inability to visit his sepulchre. The poet then begs for the mediation of the Prophet with God to support and aid the Granadine Muslims and their king. He then digresses into praise of King Muḥammad V, rejoicing in his victorious war against the Spaniards, and describing his victories. He says that King Muḥammad V did not spare any means of defending Granada and declaring a holy war against the Christians, frightening them and achieving exciting and splendid victories over them. Ibn Zamrak says that King Muḥammad attacked many Christian towns, substituting the call for prayer from the minarets for the sound of church-bells, breaking the crosses and images in the churches, killing the followers of the Cross, humiliating the Christian nobles and rich people, and leaving their towns destroyed with their inhabitants killed, captured or overwhelmed by the death of their relatives. Referring to King Muḥammad V, he says:

تركتُ بأفئدة العداة قُلُوبًا	وأقامَ مفروضَ الجهادِ بعزيمةٍ
فأعجبَ له قد أحكمَ التحليلاً	لم يعرفَ التركيبَ سيفُك في الوعى
ناقوسها التكبيرَ والتهليلة	كم بلدةٌ للكفر قد عوّضتَ من
بمن انتمى لولائه تمثيلاً	كسروا تماثيلَ الصليب ومثلوا

لما أَحطَّتْ بِهَا وَحَانَ دَمَارُهَا أَخْرَجَتْ مَتَرَفَهَا الْأَعَزَّ ذَلِيلًا *
تَجْرِي الدَّمْعُ وَمَا تَبَلَّ غَلِيلُهُ فَمَصَفَدٌ يَبْكِي هُنَاكَ قَتِيلًا

As the occasion being celebrated was a religious one, the poet made use of many religious terms and represented the Granadine-Spanish war as religious in nature. He considers the victories of his king to be good and pious deeds sālihāt, as was his interest in holding celebrations on the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday. He says:

لم تَرْضَ هَمَّتْكَ الْقَلِيلَ مِنَ التَّقَى حَتَّى أَتَتْ بِالصَّالِحَاتِ قَبِيلًا
فَأَقَمْتَ مِيلَادَ الرَّسُولِ بَلِيلَةً أَوْضَحْتَ فِيهَا لِلْجِهَادِ سَبِيلًا

Ibn Zamrak then turns to describing the celebrations and decorations which were to be seen on that occasion everywhere in Granada. He also describes the army which was reviewed before the king and the Granadine people, and which was prepared for an assault on Spanish territories and the fact that the soldiers repeated loudly and joyfully "Allāhu akbar".

حَيْثُ الْكَتَائِبُ قَدْ تَلَاظَمَ مَوْجُهَا وَتَدَقَّقَتْ فِيهَا الْخِيُولُ سَيُولًا
زَخَرَتْ بِأَمْوَاجِ الْحَدِيدِ وَرَتَمَا ضَاقَ الْفَضَاءُ فَمَا وَجَدَنَّ مَسِيلًا
يَتَجَاوَبُ التَّكْبِيرُ فِي جَنَابَتِهَا فَتَعِيدُهُ غَرَّ الْجِيَادِ صَهِيلًا

At the end of this poem Ibn Zamrak encourages his king to penetrate Christian lands with his troops as fast as possible, and to trust God who is responsible for

(*) The second hemistich of this verse has come from the Quranic verse:
قَالَتْ إِنَّ الْمُلُوكَ إِذَا دَخَلُوا قَرْيَةً أَفْسَدُوهَا وَجَعَلُوا أَعْرَاجَ أَهْلِهَا آذَنًا وَكَذَلِكَ يَفْعَلُونَ.
(verse no. 34, sūra no. 27 or sūrat al-Naml).

strengthening his true religion:

يا ناصر الاسلام يا ملك العلى	الله يعطيك الجزاء جزى لا
جهز جيوشك للجهاد موقفا	وكفى بربك كافيا وكفى لا
ولتبعد الغارات في أرض العدا	والله حسبك ناصرا ووكتلا
.....	
لا زال نصرك كلما استنجذته	لهم دينك عائدا موصولا

* * *

The celebrations of the birth of new princes and the circumcision ceremonies for any of those princes were performed with similar pomp and recitations of long poems. On such occasions the Nasrid kings used to invite their nobles and poets to the celebrations. They used to hold banquets, army reviews, tournaments and other contests.⁽¹⁾

Wedding celebrations in the royal palaces were also occasions on which writers exhibited their literary skill, describing the occasion and praising the Nasrids for many virtues, especially their tradition of fighting and defeating their enemies.⁽²⁾

(1) For examples of the poems recited on such occasion see: Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 147, 184, 188, 195 & 210; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 56, 60, 65 & 82; Ihāṭa, vol. 2, p. 123; Qarā'in, p. 9; Diwān Lisān, pp. 246 & 579; Nufāda, p. 193.

(2) See, for examples, Kunāsa, pp. 47-51; Diwān Lisān, pp. 553-556; Ibn al-Jayyāb, pp. 160-162.

The Granadine poets used also to congratulate their kings on the occasion of the construction of a new palace, or the addition of a new wing to the Alhambra. In these congratulatory poems the Granadine poets managed to find a relationship between the construction of palaces and the strength of the Naṣrid kings. They praised the kings for their strength and for winning victories over their enemies.⁽¹⁾ On their visits to any part of their dominions the Naṣrid kings were received by the nobles and the poets. The poems recited on these occasions praised the kings for their strength and for the victories they gained.⁽²⁾ On their return from hunting trips, the Naṣrid kings were received by their poets, who again recited their congratulatory poems. As has already been pointed out, they likened the return of the Naṣrid kings from hunting parties to their return from successful conquests. They also considered these trips to be a part of the holy war because they were considered as tantamount to a military exercises.⁽³⁾

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- (1) See, for examples, Dīwān Lisān, p. 398; Ibn al - Jayyāb, pp. 153, 154 & 156.
(2) See: Azhār, vol. 2, p. 107; see also: Khatrat al - Taif.
(3) See, for examples, : Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 137 & 103; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 154.

Descriptive poetry and prose were also influenced by the victories of the Naṣrid kings. Writers described the weapons, the soldiers, the war machines, the armies, the flags and the fortresses of the two warring parties. They described the army reviews, military sports, and inspection trips. In these works, Granadine writers represented Granadine arms and armies as more capable of winning victories than those of the Spaniards.

This vainglorious poetry seems to have been refreshed constantly by the victories gained by the Naṣrid kings. Many of those kings themselves wrote poems boasting of their ability to win such victories, and most of their poetry has a vainglorious purpose and ring. Its style does not differ greatly from that of the eulogies described above since the purpose in both cases was to describe Naṣrid virtues. The poet king boasts of his valour and the victories over his enemies, humiliating their leaders and protecting Islam. The poet glories also in having a strong army, brave soldiers and sharp and effective arms. Many Naṣrid kings wrote such poems. The most famous of the poet kings was King Yūsuf III whose dīwān is, in effect, a vainglorious poetical exercise. Yūsuf III boasted of many virtues, but the major part of his boasting concerns his valiance and ability to halt his enemies, and to fight for the cause

of God. In one of his poems,⁽¹⁾ Yūsuf III talks about his determination and devotion to warfare, and says that he renounced wearing silk for coats of mail, that he looked for blood instead of wine, carried a thirsty sword instead of swaying ladies, gave up shady retreats for the midday heat, and deserted rosy-cheeked lovers for two-edged swords. As a gesture of his self denial for his country he says, talking about himself in the third person:

<p>وَأُبَدِّلُ مِنْ كَأْسِ الْمُدَامِ نَجِيعًا تَسَاقَى وَلَا قَى فِي الدَّمَاءِ شُرُوعًا هَجِيرًا يَظَلُّ السَّرْبُ فِيهِ مَرُوعًا يُغَادِرُ حَزْبَ الدَّارِعِينَ صَدِيعًا</p>	<p>تَعَوَّضَ مِنْ لِبَسِ الْحَرِيرِ دُرُوعًا وَمِنْ مَائِلِ الْقَدْرِ الْمُنْعَمِ ذَابِلًا وَمِنْ ظِلِّ خَفَاقِ الظَّلَالِ مَهْدِلًا وَمِنْ رَائِقِ الْخَدَّيْنِ حَدَّيْ مَذْرَبًا</p>
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He then turns to boasting of the Nasrid family, saying that they were always victorious, undismayed, rushing to war as soon as the call for jihād (holy war) was heard, high-aspiring and of a good reputation. He says:

<p>إِذَا طَلَعَتْ فَالْفَجْرِ رَاقٌ طُلُوعًا عَلَى النَّصْرِ فَارْتَا حَتَّى إِلَيْهِ نَزُوعًا مَجِيبًا أَيْ دَاعِيَ الْجِهَادِ سَمِيعًا</p>	<p>وَمِنَّا وَجُوهٌ فِي الْوَغَى نَاصِرَةٌ يَقِيمُ لَهَا رَأْدُ الصَّبَاحِ أَدْلَةٌ بِأَفَنْدَةٍ عَزَّ الثَّبَاتُ أَفَادَ هَا</p>
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He refers to his raids upon the Spaniards in the Straits of Gibraltar and his victories there, saying that these raids left his enemies dispersed and terrified:

(1) Dīwān Yūsuf, p. 170.

تكون لسرّ الحادّثات مديعا
فخلف شمل العاذلين صديعا
أعاد الجناب المشمعل مريعا

هنا أيها الركب المسائر شهيدك
تحدث بالغارات حيث أقامها
بمجمع بحرئها على خطر السرى

* * *

Elegiac literature in Granada, which also deals with such virtues as those celebrated in the panegyric and vainglorious compositions, was influenced in its turn by the Granadine victories. The writers of these elegies say of a deceased king that he was the protector of Andalusia, the preserver of Islam, and the annihilator of his enemies. They praise him for his piety, political wisdom, and for fighting in the cause of God and Islam. By mentioning these virtues of any deceased king, the writers established the reasons for the sadness and sense of loss they expressed at his death. Many poems alternate between consoling a new king for the death of his predecessor and congratulating him on his accession to the throne. Other poems were written bewailing dead leaders, ministers, fursān, volunteers, friends and relatives. Granadine writers wrote many of these elegies on the tombs of the dead. These writings are of considerable historical importance, because they contain much information about the deceased. One poem which includes both consolation and congratulation is that written by Ibn al-Jayyāb after the death of King Muḥammad II and the

accession of his son Muḥammad III in 701/1301.⁽¹⁾ The poet considers the death of Muḥammad II a great loss to the Andalusians and to Islam, but he adds that the accession of Muḥammad III had recompensed both Andalusia and Islam for that loss. Giving reasons for this statement Ibn al-Jayyāb praises the two kings in order to show how great was the loss at the death of the former king and how much luckier the people and Islam itself would be with the accession of the new king. He starts his poem by saying that he was just as much saddened as pleased:

وَمَلِكٌ سَعِيدٌ وَأَجْرٌ جَزِيلٌ	مَصَابٌ جَلِيلٌ وَصَنْعٌ جَمِيلٌ
وَهَذَا يَسْكُنُ فَرْطَ الْغَلِيلِ	فَذَاكَ يَهَيِّجُ بَرْحَ الْأَسَى

Ibn al-Jayyāb mentions the virtues and services of the dead king, saying that Islam was always powerful and the infidels harassed and defeated during his reign. This was because he used to attack and kill them everywhere, and always prepared for such onslaughts by building up his army:

لَدَيْهِ وَحِزْبُ الضَّلَالِ الذَّلِيلِ	فَمَا زَالَ حِزْبُ الْهُدَى فِي اعْتِرَازِ
فَفِي كُلِّ فَجٍّ دُمَاءٌ تَسِيلُ	فَطُورًا يَسِيرُ إِلَى حَرِيهِرٍ مُمِ
فَفِي كُلِّ حَزْنٍ وَسَهْلٍ رَعِيلُ	وَطُورًا يَجْهَزُ جَيْشًا لَهُ مُمِ

These achievements were the reasons for the poet's sadness. But the accession of the new king, who had the same virtues and ambitions, soothed the poet's sorrow. The poet then begins to praise the new king by claiming

(1) Lamha, p. 58.

him to be capable of fighting and destroying his enemies, thereby protecting the country and its people. He addresses the new king in verses like the following:

ولولا كَ مَنْ لِلْعُلَى بَعْدَهُ	وللصفح عن مذنب مستقيلاً
وَمَنْ لِلْكَفَاحِ وَسُفْرِ الرِّمَاحِ	وَمَنْ لِلْحَسَامِ الْيَمَانِ الصَّقِيلِ
وَمَنْ لِلْعِبَادِ وَمَنْ لِلْبِرِّلَادِ	وَمَنْ لِلسَّعَاحِ وَبِذَلِ الْجَزِيلِ
وَمَنْ لِلْأَيَادِي وَقَتْلِ الْأَعَادِي	وَيَوْمِ الْجَلَادِ الْعَرِيفِ الطَّوِيلِ
وَقَدْ جَبَرَ اللَّهُ صَدْعَ الْقُلُوبِ	بِجَارٍ عَلَى نَهْجِ تِلْكَ السَّبِيلِ

The poet seems to be urging the new king to follow his father's defence policy by fighting his enemies and protecting Granada and Islam.⁽¹⁾ The same encouragement was given by Ibn Zamrak, when he consoled Yūsuf II over the death of his father King Muḥammad V in 793/1390 in the poem which begins with the verse:⁽²⁾

عزاءٌ فَإِنَّ الشُّجُوءَ قَدْ كَانَ يُسْرِفُ ويشري بها الداعي على الخور يُسْرِفُ

After expressing his admiration at the triumphs gained by the deceased king Ibn Zamrak says that the new king would follow the way of his father by shattering the Cross, destroying the Christian churches, reducing their

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- (1) For more examples of elegies see: Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 442; Durar, vol. 4, p. 86/Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 395; Lamha, p. 89/Katiba, p. 177/Lamha, p. 90/Amāl, vol. 2, pp. 344 & 348; Lamha, pp. 98-101, 102/Ihāta, MS, fol. 155; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 81/Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 149, 152 & 154; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 235; Ibn al-Jayyāb, pp. 171, 173, 179, & 181.
- (2) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 149.

bells to silence, raising the Muslim call to prayer over many places and achieving wondrous victories. He says in praise of the dead king:

<p>يروى لنا منها الغريب المصنف وناقوسها بالكفر يهدي ويهتف فصارت به الأذان بعد شئف لك الفخر منه والثناء المخلصف</p>	<p>وعنك يروي الناس كل غريبة فكسرت تماثلا وهدمت بيعة وكم من منار بالأذان عمرته وسرت وقد خلفت خير خليفة</p>
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It seems that the poet praised Muhammad V to his successor in order to urge the new king to be as courageous and worthy of praise as his father. Ibn Zamrak then discloses the aim of his poem by urging the new king to follow his father's example. He says to him: "We have no doubt that you will follow his way in dealing with the enemies and in being deserving of praise. You will harass the enemies of God with determination, when you march against them with your mighty squadrons. You will destroy their army both on land and sea. You will conquer all their well-fortified cities, killing all the worshippers of the Cross, leaving their heads like crops harvested by your sword, which is at the same time the sword of God".

<p>فيهدي له منك الثناء المعطف اليه بجرار الكتائب تزحف بفرسانه والبحر بالسفن يقذف يعبد عباد الصليب ومؤسف بسيفك سيف الله تجنى وتقطف</p>	<p>ستجري على آثاره سابق المدى سيلقى عدو الدين منك عزائم ويأسف لما يبصر البرير تمهي وتفتح من بلدانه كل مقفل فما رؤس الكفار إلا حصائد</p>
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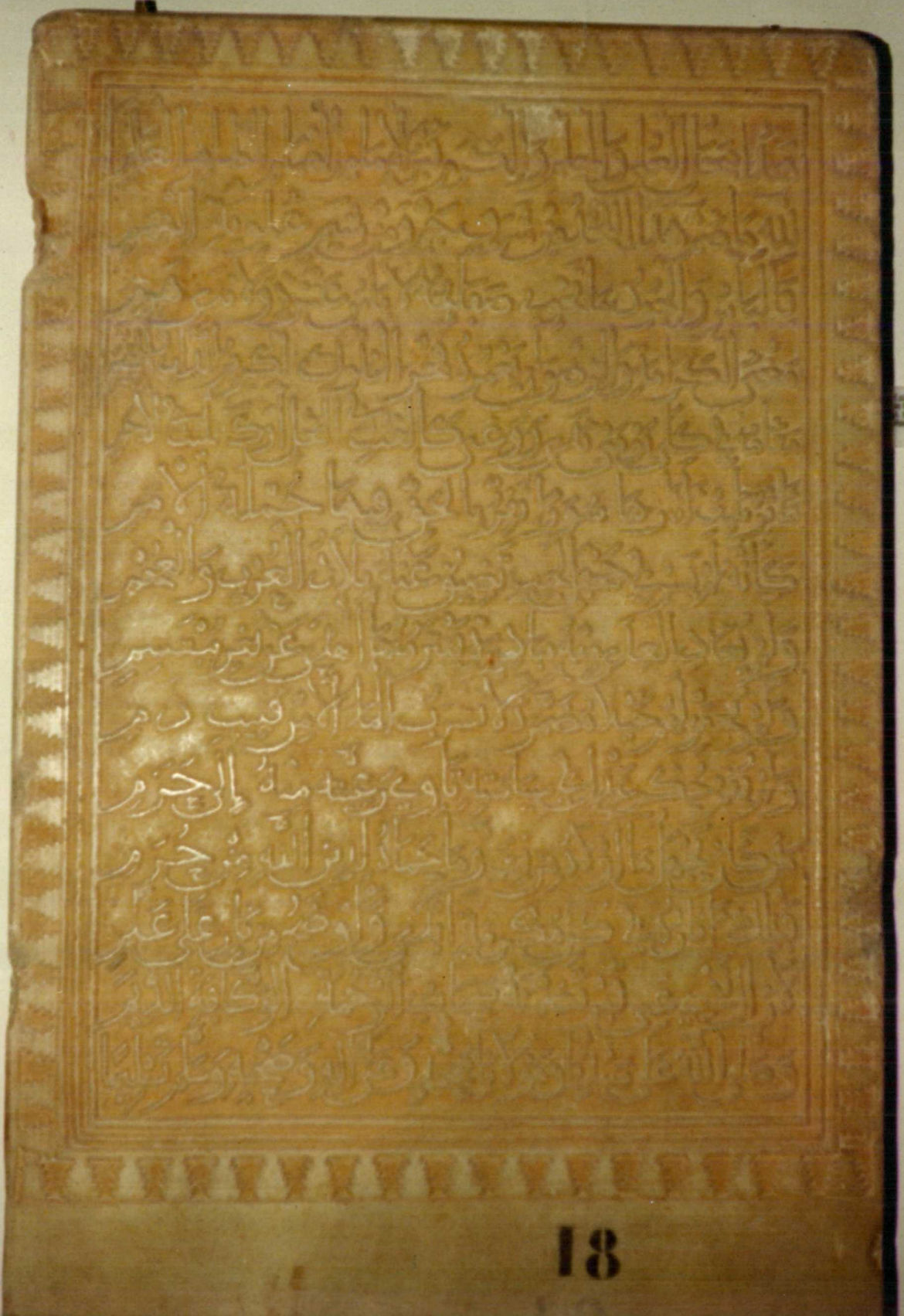
Many of these elegies were inscribed on the tombs of the

dead. None of these poetic and prose inscriptions neglected to represent the dead king as a Muslim hero who conquered infidel lands, killing unbelievers in Islam and destroying their cities for the cause of God, Islam, the Prophet and the Muslim lands and people.⁽¹⁾

Elegies were not inscribed on the tombstones of members of the Naṣrid family only, but can be found also on the tombs of army commanders and ministers.⁽²⁾ By reading what was written on the tombstone of ʿUthmān Ibn Abu al-ʿUlā,⁽³⁾ the commander of the Granadine army during the reign of Naṣr, Ismāʿīl Ibn Faraj and Muḥammad IV, one can appreciate the characteristics required of the ideal Granadine fāris. The writer of the relevant version describes Ibn Abu al-ʿUlā as the most famous of heroes, the chief of conquerors, the victorious leader,

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- (1) See for what is inscribed on the tomb of Muḥammad I: Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 100; Lamha, p. 48; Inscripciones, pp. 166 & 207; Conde, p. 167; Estudio, p. 86, for the tomb of Muḥammad II see: Estudio, p. 86; Inscripciones, p. 209. For the tomb of Muḥammad III see: Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 554; Lamha, p. 68; Conde, pp. 213-214; Ibn al-Jayyāb, pp. 179-180. For Naṣr's tomb see: Lamha, p. 76; Inscripciones, p. 213; Conde, pp. 219-221. For the tomb of Ismāʿīl Ibn Faraj see: Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 393; Lamha, p. 87; Inscripciones, pp. 217-220; Conde, p. 235. For the tomb of Muḥammad IV see: Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 541; Lamha, p. 97; Conde, p. 248. For Yūsuf I's tomb see: Lamha, p. 110; Inscripciones, pp. 227-228; Istīʿāb, p. 18; Conde, pp. 272-274; Adler, pp. 38-39; Diwān Lisān, p. 531. For Yūsuf III's tomb see: Estudio, p. 80; Inscripciones, p. 232. See also Nafh, vol. 1, p. 453.
- (2) For examples see: Inscripciones, p. 237; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 453; Ibn al-Jayyāb, p. 179.
- (3) Nafh, vol. 1, p. 453.

An elegy inscribed on the tombstone of King Muhammad I (d. 671/1273), in the "Museo Nacional de Arte Hispano-Arabe" in the Alhambra.



conquests as well. Such inscriptions had many purposes: One of them, probably, was to urge the victorious king to aspire to greater triumphs when he sees how earlier victories are recorded and appreciated. The poets may have wanted to immortalise both the victories and the renown of the conqueror. This practice would have encouraged succeeding Granadine kings to imitate their ancestors by trying to gain similar or greater conquests in order to establish for themselves an everlasting reputation. A fragment to be found on one of the Alhambra gates was written in praise of a Granadine king.⁽¹⁾ The writer praises his king for terrifying his enemies and defeating them. He says:⁽²⁾

<p>من قصره طالعاً النصر ترتقب لو أوعد الأفق ما لاحته شهب إذا العفاة حذاها نحوه الرغب لا يمك العال إلا ريثما يهـب ويرهب الناس منها العجم والعرب</p>	<p>إن ابن نصر وما أدراك من ملك مؤيد ترهب الآلاف صولتـه يحد والملوك إلى أبوابه رهـب مما تعود من جود ومن كـرم لا زال في عزة تعنو الملوك لها</p>
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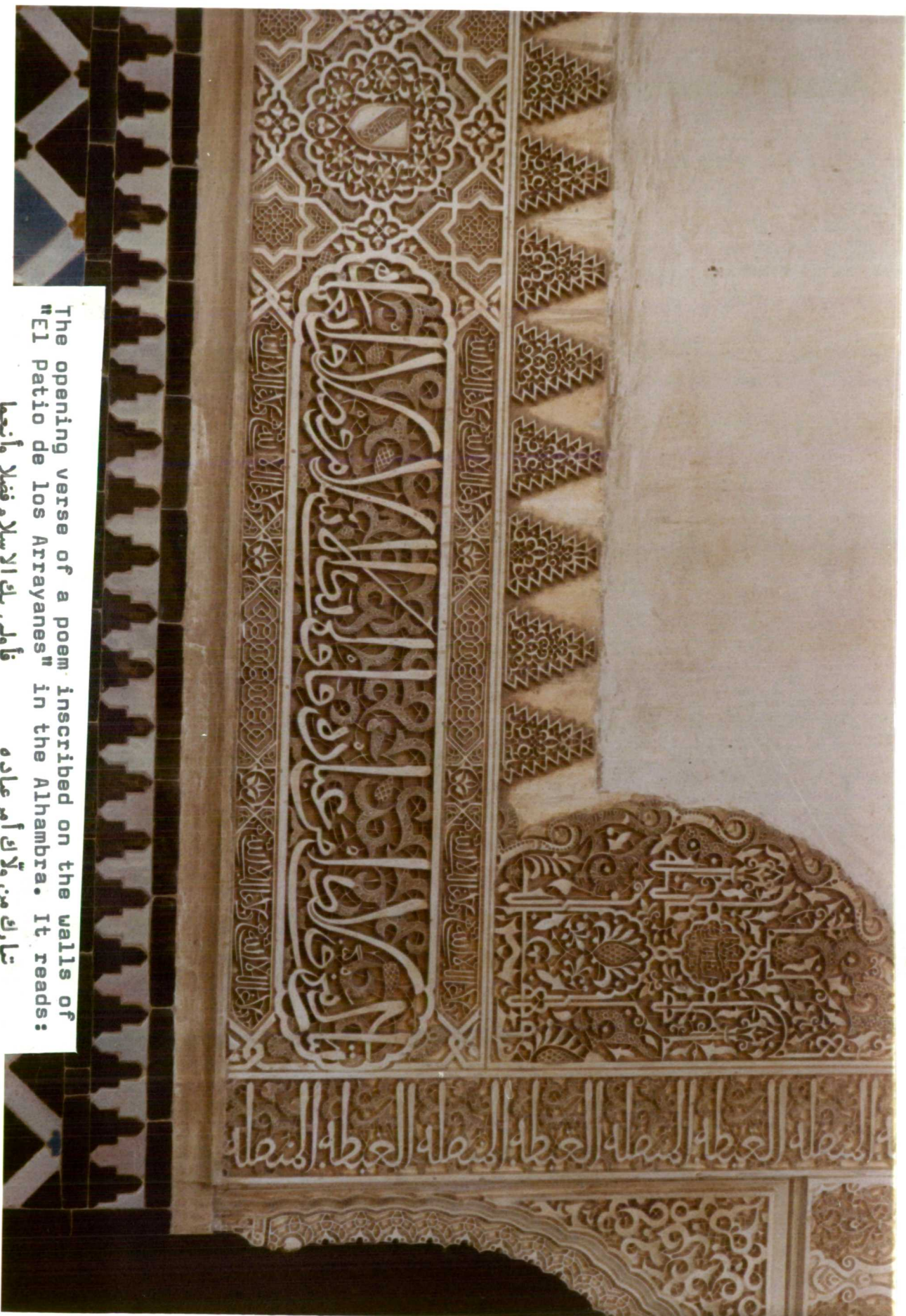
"Truly Ibn Nasr is equalled by no king.
From his court the omens of victory
are sought.
Providence supports him, thousands
tremble at his rage: were he to threaten
the region of the sky, not a luminary in
it would appear.
Princes are agitated at the splendour of
his genealogy. He is dreaded, though his
nature impels him to beneficence and
mercy.

(1) Inscripciones, p. 205; Istī'āb, p. 8.
(2) Translated by Shakespear (Istī'āb, p. 9).

The opening verse of a poem inscribed on the walls of
"El Patio de los Arrayanes" in the Alhambra. It reads:

فأولى بك الإسلام فضلاً وأنعماً

تبارك من ولاك أمر عباده



As it is his wont to be generous,⁽¹⁾
he holds his wealth only whilst
giving it away.
May he never fail in that dignity
which other kings revere, and may
all men, (whether Arabs or non -
Arabs)⁽²⁾ stand in awe of it."

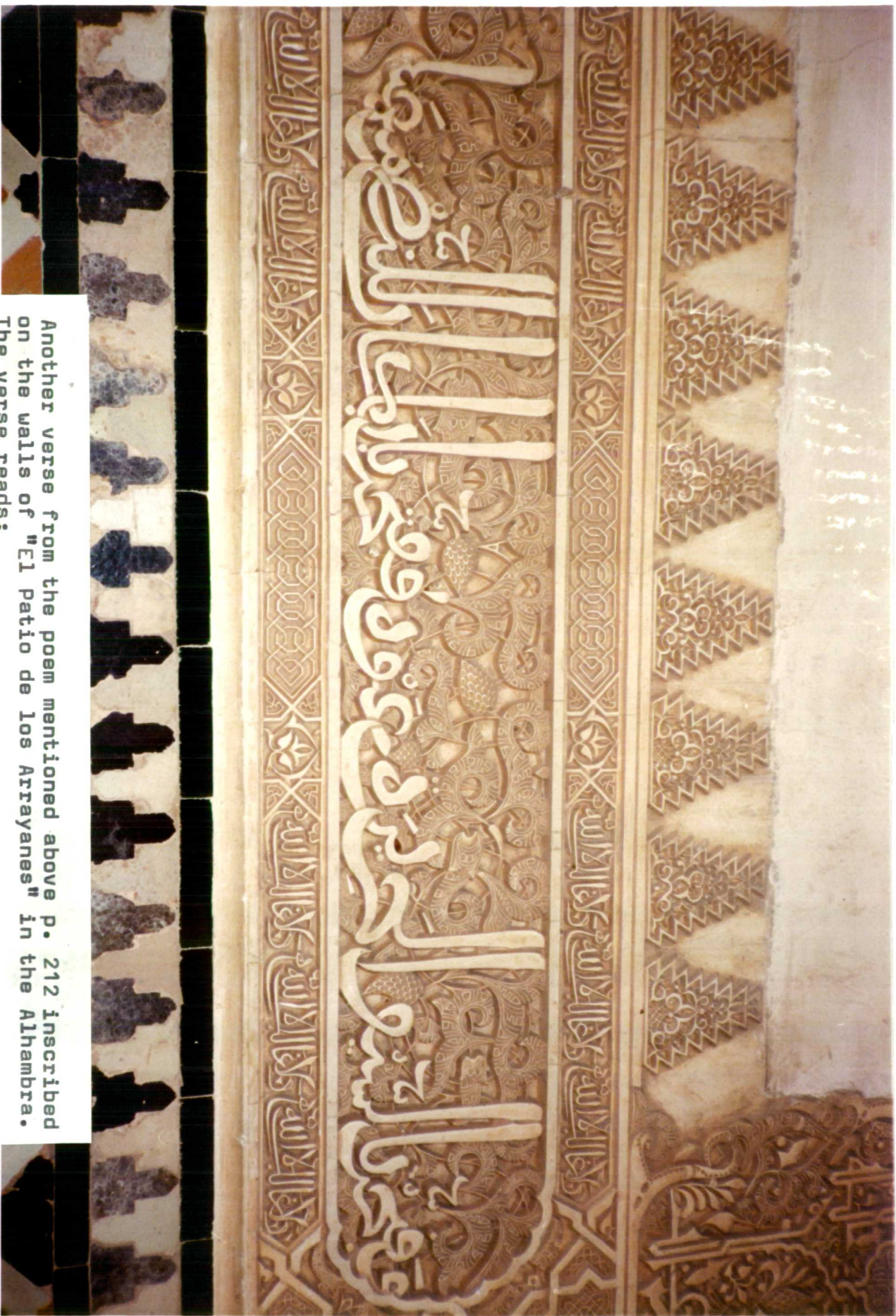
Another inscribed poem with regard to the Granadine
victories is that describing a victory gained by Muḥammad
V.⁽³⁾ It begins with the verse:

تَبَارَكَ مِنْ وَلَاكَ أَمْرَ عِبَادِهِ فَأُولَى بِكَ الْإِسْلَامَ فَضْلًا وَأَنْعَمًا

The poet describes the king's attacks upon the cities of
the infidels, as he terms them, and his way of destroying
them and taking their inhabitants captive in order to use
them in constructing his palaces. He then praises the
king for his triumphs, saying that he fortified and
protected Granada, intimidated his enemies and strengthened
Islam:⁽⁴⁾

تَبَارَكَ مِنْ وَلَاكَ أَمْرَ عِبَادِهِ	فَأُولَى بِكَ الْإِسْلَامَ فَضْلًا وَأَنْعَمًا
فَكَمْ بَلَدَةٍ بِالْكَفْرِ صَبَّحَتْ أَهْلُهَا	وَأَمْسَيْتَ فِي أَعْمَارِهِمْ مِتْجَمًّا
وَطَوَّقْتَهُمْ طَوْقَ الْأَسَارَى فَأَصْبَحُوا	بِبَايِكَ يَبْنُونَ الْقُصُورَ تَخْدِمًا
وَفَتَحْتَ بِالسِّيفِ الْجَزِيرَةَ غَنُوةً	فَفَتَحْتَ بِبَايَاكَ لِلنَّصْرِ مُبْهِمًا
وَمِنْ قَبْلِهَا اسْتَفْتَحْتَ عَشْرِينَ مَعْقَلًا	وَصَيَّرْتَ مَا فِيهَا لَجَيْشِكَ مَغْنَمًا

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- (1) Shakespear translated this as "the practice of
injustice and the generosity of his disposition"
corrupting the word "جود" to "جور".
- (2) Shakespear translated this as "whether Barbarians
or Arabs".
- (3) Istī'āb, p. 6; Inscripciones, p. 95; Estudio, p. 42.
- (4) Translated by Shakespear (Istī'āb, p. 7).



Another verse from the poem mentioned above p. 212 inscribed on the walls of "El Patio de los Arrayanes" in the Alhambra. The verse reads:

فتحت باباً كان للنصر مبهماً

وفتح بالسيف الجزيرة عنة

"Praise to him who has committed to Thee
the government of His servants, and
through thee graciously extended the
Faith, and benefited it.
How many were the infidel cities, the
people of which thou camest on at
morn, and by night their lives were at
thy mercy!
Then thou boundedst them in the chains
of captivity, and they came to thy court
as slaves to construct thy palaces.
And thou conqueredst the Peninsula by
force and sword, opening a gate to
victory which was shut before.
But prior to these achievements thou
subduedst twenty fortresses, making all
they contained the prey of thy warriors"

IV

Some Major Features of The Literature Dealing with The Granadine Victories.

As the compositions examined in this chapter deal
with one subject, namely the Granadine victories against
the Spaniards, and as the writers of these compositions
all represent the Granadine side, it is natural that
certain common features and elements appear in them
frequently and recurrently. Having reviewed in detail the
subjective elements and allied phenomena of these literary
works, the rest of this chapter is dedicated to a brief
analysis of their common features.

The congratulatory poems recited before the Nasrid
rulers after their victories usually ignore the standard
conventional introductions. It is as if their authors are

trying to say that they cannot afford to beat about the bush and delay the main subject or purport of their poems which is usually congratulating the ruler, or the expression of the poet's joy over the Granadine victories.⁽¹⁾ This phenomenon applies also to many of the letters dispatched from the Nasrid court to the Granadine people and other ordinary Muslims, carrying to them the news of the Granadine victories.⁽²⁾ But in the greater number of letter dispatched to Muslim rulers in north Africa or in Asia concerning these victories, the writers continued to produce long introductions, as was customary and conventional in all literary epistles at the time. But these introductions appear to have been designed to suit the main subjects of these letters, so that we may discern the main purpose of the letters by reading its introduction. These introductions seem also to have followed a certain standard diplomatic formula, so that such formal introductions are found in all letters sent from the Granadine court to other countries or rulers.* It is also noteworthy that most, if not all, literary works concerning the Granadine victories, have at their beginning certain set phrases relating to or denoting the nature of these victories. Among these standard terms or phrases are

(1) For examples see Dhakhīra, p. 182; Anīs, p. 230; Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 561-562.

(2) For examples see Remiro, p. 284; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 339.

(*) See pp. 381-384 below.

tahānī (congratulations), bishāra (glad tidings), nasr (victory), fath (conquest), haraka ("military" action) and many other terms and their derivatives, which are used in almost every literary composition relating to the Granadine victories. As all these compositions deal with one subject, in certain set conventional ways and in the same order, we can readily note the recurrence of certain forms of expression and the repetition of certain phrases.

Another common feature of these works is exaggeration, both in representing the significance of the Granadine victories, and in emphasizing the defeat of the Spaniards. This exaggeration is also observable in the descriptions of benefits won by the Granadines and the losses suffered by the Spaniards. The Granadine writers, as has been mentioned, are in agreement that their victories were miraculous in nature. They therefore, ignore and belittle the Spanish power,⁽¹⁾ by mocking and slighting the Spaniards and gloating over their defeats. They also introduce the news of Spanish defeats with great jubilation, using symbolic expressions, similes, metaphors and various other rhetorical devices or conceits.

(1) Except in certain cases where it was considered politic or expedient to picture the power of the enemy as quite formidable. See pp. 141-151 above.

Writings concerning Granadine victories are also full of high-flown expressions, rhymed sentences and a great many historical, scientific and religious allusions.

As these victories were considered religious ones, and as the Granadine writers dealt with them from a religious point of view, the literary compositions relating to these victories are full of religious nuances and implications, with the use of many Quranic verses, hadīths of the Prophet Muḥammad and Islamic epigrammatic phraseology. The hall-mark of Granadine literary compositions relating to the Granadine victories is their excessive length, but this is not confined to the literature dealing with victories, and is characteristic of all Granadine compositions and literary genres during the whole of the Naṣrid period. The conspicuous and repeated occurrence of this feature in the literature dealing with victories is due to certain discernible factors. One of these was probably the desire of the Granadine writers to stress the significance of Granadine achievements, so that they continued detailing events in order to convince the addressee of the importance of the victory. In an example, Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote an exceedingly long letter to the Ḥafṣid king of Tunisia in 770/1368,⁽¹⁾

(1) See this letter in: Taʿrīf, pp. 959-1018; Ṭaḥīr Farāʿid, pp. 265-288; Remíro, p. 318.

on behalf of King Muḥammad V. The letter was intended to inform the Tunisian king about Muḥammad V's victories against the Spaniards. The length of this letter alternates between 32 and 59 pages in the various sources. This extreme length is probably due to Muḥammad V's desire to maintain friendly relations with Tunisia, especially perceiving the decline of the power of the Marīnids, who, from the middle of the 8th/14th century, were unable to offer any effective help to Granada. The length may have been due also to the deliberate intention of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, who, it would seem, was planning to flee Granada at the time, and wanted to demonstrate his skill in the art of letter writing before the Tunisian king. The sovereign of Tunisia, realizing this skill, would, it was perhaps hoped, invite Ibn al-Khaṭīb to become one of his court writers. Ibn al-Khaṭīb therefore packed this letter with proverbs and historical, logical, literary, mathematical, medical, astronomical, astrological, and various other scientific comments. He also exaggerated the use of rhymed sentences and terms and expressions of double nuances. Many hadīths, Quranic verses, names of historical places and events also occur in this letter. Ibn al-Khaṭīb may have simply intended to show the Tunisian king that he was a man of high culture and learning. Possibly another reason for the length of this letter was the fact that it was a reply to a similar letter sent to Muḥammad V from the king of Tunisia with a valuable gift of

horses, slaves and gold. The letter of the Tunisian king was, as Ibn al-Khatīb reports, very long and well-written. This could have prompted Ibn al-Khatīb to reply in a similar vein, and not allow himself to be outdone.

The length of letters and poems describing the Granadine victories induced their writers to continue detailing events connected with these victories. The reader of any of these letters may get the feeling that he is reading a story, since they often contain many narrative details. Such detailed descriptions of events, however, make these letters of considerable historical importance, and they are valuable to historians who seek minute details concerning the Granadine victories. These compositions do not supply and ascertain historical information derived otherwise from historical sources only, but they introduce other details which cannot be obtained from the extant historical sources.⁽¹⁾ What also makes these compositions of historical value is that their writers, in many if not most cases, were eyewitnesses of the battles they describe, and companions of the Granadine armies at the time when the victories were achieved.⁽²⁾ Many of these compositions are fresh and immediate reactions to the Granadine victories.

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- (1) For examples see Nuzha, p. 129; Katība, p. 199; Diwān Lisān, pp. 244 & 363; Durar, vol. 4, p. 295, "Un Zayal Hispanique", Al-Andalus, vol. 6, 1941, pp. 382-392.
- (2) For examples see Nuzha, p. 129; Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 391; Lamha, p. 86.

CHAPTER IV

The Granadine Appeals for Help

I- Appeals Before The Establishment of Nasrid Rule

It was, it would seem, an Andalusian tradition to appeal for military aid from north Africa, even at the time when most of the Andalusian cities were still under Muslim control. When those cities started falling into the hands of the Spaniards one after the other during the first half of the 7th/13th century, the Andalusians made repeated and resounding appeals to north Africa in the form of long poems and letters. By this time Almohad , power in north Africa and Andalusia was rapidly crumbling, which made the Andalusians send their appeals to the newly established state of Tunisia despite the fact that Tunisia was not yet capable of offering any effective help. Thus many poems and letters were written seeking the aid of the Tunisian rulers. Ibn al-Abbār, a famous writer of Valencia, wrote many emotional appeals. His most famous poem was the one recited before Abū Zakariyyā al-Mustanşir al-Ḥafṣī, the Tunisian ruler, after the fall of Valencia in 636/1238. It begins with the verse:⁽¹⁾

أَدْرِكْ بِخَيْلِكَ خَيْلَ اللَّهِ أَنْدَلُسَا إِنَّ السَّبِيلَ إِلَى مُنْجَاتِهَا دَرَسَا

(1) See this poem in: Bayān, vol. 3, p. 345; Mu'nis, p. 126; Sundusiyya, p. 1020; Nafh vol. 3, p. 303 & vol. 4, p. 456; Azhār, vol. 3, p. 207.

This poem is reported to have been learnt by heart and to have been a source of inspiration for many Granadine poets at a later date.⁽¹⁾ It is reported also that the people of east Andalusia pledged their allegiance to the Tunisian king.⁽²⁾ Many other appeals for help were sent to that country by the Andalusian poets and men of letters. Ḥāzim al-Qarṭājannī, who died in 684/1285, devoted the major part of his dīwān to urging Abū Zakariyyā al-Ḥafṣī to aid Andalusia.⁽³⁾ There is also a rather long poem written by an anonymous poet and addressed to Abū Zakariyyā.⁽⁴⁾ It begins with the verse:

نَادَتْكَ أُنْدَلُسُ فَلَبَّيْ دَاءُهَا واجعل طواغيت الصليب فدَاءُهَا
Abu al-Muṭarrif Ibn ‘Amīra, a famous writer of Valencia (580-658/1184-1259), wrote many literary appeals after the fall of the eastern parts of Andalusia.⁽⁵⁾ Poems and letters appealing for help were sent also to Tlemcen and Morocco during the Spanish siege of Seville in 645/1247. Amongst them is the poem of Ibrāhīm Ibn Sahl al-Ishbīlī, which starts with the verse:⁽⁶⁾

وردا فمضمون نجاح المصدر هي عزة الدنيا وفوز المحشر

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- (1) For examples see: Dīwān Yūsuf, p. 195; Nafh, vol. 3, p. 303.
(2) Mu'nis, p. 126; Sundusiyya, p. 1020.
(3) See: Dīwān Ḥāzim, ed. O. Ka‘āk, Beirut, 1964, pp. 8-12, 14-15, 18, 46-50, ... etc. Nafh, vol. 2, pp. 584-588.
(4) Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 479-483.
(5) Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 305-321 & vol. 4, pp. 490-496.
(6) See: Dhakhira, pp. 74-76.

Another poem on the same occasion was written by Hārūn Ibn Hārūn and sent to al-Saʿīd, the Almohade caliph in Marrakesh. It begins with the verse: (1)

يا حمص أقصدك المقدور حين رمى لم يزع فيك الردى إلا ولا ذمما

Derek W. Lomax suggests that such appeals were as ineffective as those made by Christian troubadours after the battle of Alarcos. (2)

With the fall of most of the Andalusia cities, Granada was the last and the sole Muslim state in Andalusia, which made the Andalusian Muslims try all possible means to hold onto it. They knew only too well that the fall of Granada would mean the end of the Muslim presence in the Peninsula. Andalusian writers, therefore, were compelled to increase their appeals for aid from the north African Muslim states.

II- Appeals to Morocco

During the second half of the 7th/13th century, the Marīnids established a strong state in Morocco and were in a position to offer help to Granada. Literature was again extensively used to serve political ends. It was the weakness of Granada in comparison with the Spanish states that made the Granadine writers compose

(1) See: Bayān, vol. 3, p. 382.

(2) Reconquest, p. 153.

their appeals in the first place, although those same appeals had often been the cause of fierce battles between the Muslims and the Spaniards. The appeals were sent by kings, writers and, at times, the ordinary people of Granada to the rulers and people of other Muslim states.

The majority of the Granadine appeals were sent to the Moroccan kings and people because Morocco was perhaps the nearest strong and reliable Muslim state to Granada. It seemed natural that the major part of military assistance to Granada should come from Morocco. The Marīnid kings of Morocco may have wanted to follow the tradition of the previous Moroccan dynasties, the Almoravides and Almohades, in complying with the appeals of Andalusian Muslims.

The effective Marīnid aid to Granada was appreciated and acknowledged in numerous letters and poems written by Granadine writers. The Granadines need for Marīnid help is expressed in a great number of letters and poems, and not only in those letters or poems which constituted a direct appeal for help, but also in letters and poems dealing with other subjects. There are indications that such letters were sent to Morocco in great numbers.⁽¹⁾ The letters sent to the Moroccan kings by writers of the

(1) See: Kunāsa, p. 114; Remiro, p. 229.

Granadine court on the subject of Granadine victories over the Spaniards attributed these victories to a number of factors, among which was Moroccan aid to the Granadines. Granadine writers made a shrewd use of this idea calculated to encourage the Moroccan kings to offer more aid to Granada, to help in gaining further victories. Examples of these letters have been surveyed in the previous chapter. In a letter to Abū 'Inān al-Marīnī, King Yūsuf I speaks of the successful Granadine attack on the fortress of Cañete.⁽¹⁾ He says that this victory was gained by the favour of God and Abū 'Inān's help, and that, with the assistance of Abū 'Inān, the Moroccan king, "other debts will soon be reclaimed from the Spaniards". King Yūsuf also explains the situation of Granada to Abū 'Inān, pointing out the isolation of that country, the shortage of supplies, the comparatively small population, and the union of the Spanish states against Granada. King Yūsuf I then asks Abū 'Inān not to forget this situation and to send more help to Granada. He says:

..... "وَمَا قَرِيبٌ أَنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ بِمَقَاصِدِكُمُ الْكَرِيمَةِ نَسْتَوْفِي مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ وَالْأَيُونِ
فَإِنَّ نَسَبَ هَذَا الْفَتْحِ إِلَى عَمُودِ مُلْكِكُمْ نَسَبٌ صَحِيحٌ ، وَشَاهِدُهُ فِي الْإِنْتِمَاءِ إِلَى
مَعَالِيكُمْ عَرَبِيٌّ فَصِيحٌ ، فَإِنَّمَا هُوَ ثَمَرَةُ أُمْدَادِكُمْ غُرُصَ عَلَى مَقَامِكُمُ الرِّفْعِ جَنَاهَا ،
وَمُنْحَةٌ بِفَضْلِ طَوَيْتِكُمْ وَتَظَافُرِ عَمَلِكُمْ وَنَيْتِكُمْ يَسِّرَهَا اللَّهُ وَسَّاهَا ، وَلَا خَفَاءَ بِمَا هُوَ

(1) Remiro, p. 211.

عليه الاسلام في هذه الأقطار الغريبة من انقطاع المدد وتعذر العيّد ، والقلة التي ليس بينها وبين عدوها نسبة من نسب العدد ، فجميع ما يسني الله له من الظهور فإنها بركة سلطانكم الأسعد ، وما تحققت أمة الكفر من اتصال اليد ، وانتُم عدة الاسلام وذخره ، وكبيره الذي به فخره ، ابقاكم الله تخلص الآثار الكريمة في نصره ، وتعاملون الله على اظهار دينه واعلاء أمره"

".... Shortly, God willing, and with your noble determination, we will recover all our debts from the enemy... . The attribution of this victory to you is inevitable, and the evidence that it belongs to your highness is so clear since it is the result of your aid,.... . It is a favour of God bestowed upon us through your sincere intentions, which are always interpreted into action. It is quite evident to you how much Islam in this isolated country suffers from lack of help, the shortage of arms, the small number of inhabitants in comparison with the large number of our enemies, and the agreement among the infidel nations. Everything that God gives us as a result of the victories is the fruit of your blessings. You are the protector of Islam and the source of its strength, and you are the leader of whom we are proud; may God protect you, to perpetuate your generous efforts in the cause of defending His religion, and strenthening it..."

In their letters to the Moroccan rulers concerning the disputes among the Spanish states, and the civil wars in Castile the Granadine rulers appealed to the Moroccan kings to take advantage of these wars and to send their army into Andalusia.⁽¹⁾ They also consulted the Moroccan monarchs on how to deal with the new developments. This would indicate that the Granadines did not

(1) For examples see: Kunāsa, pp. 96, 103, 104, 107 & 108; Remiro, pp. 200, 231-235, 242 & 255.

stop at appealing for military assistance, but went on to ask for political advice and aid. Besides, the Granadine kings often spoke of their loyalty to the Moroccan kings and the friendly relations between Morocco and Granada, which merited Moroccan support for the people of Granada. Both Moroccans and Granadines often indicated the necessity for concord among Muslims,⁽¹⁾ and the Granadine rulers often suggested military and political cooperation between Morocco and Granada.⁽²⁾

Many letters were sent from Granada to Morocco concerning developments in the Iberian peninsula and the internal disputes in Granada.⁽³⁾ In these letters the Granadine writers always managed to find a convenient way of stressing the need for Moroccan military assistance. King Muḥammad V of Granada, for example, sent a letter to Abū 'Inān, king of Morocco, explaining to him the circumstances of the assassination of his father King Yūsuf I of Granada at the hands of a madman in 755/1354. Muḥammad V also spoke about his accession to the throne after the assassination of his father.⁽⁴⁾ He comments on this event by saying that Abū 'Inān's help and care or

(1) See: Kunāsa, pp. 98-99, 113-114 & 130-131; Conde, p. 189.

(2) For example see: Kunāsa, p. 99.

(3) See: Remiro, pp. 118-121, 159 & 361; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 424 & vol. 6, p. 340.

(4) Remiro, p. 361; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 424.

his patronage would recompense for him the loss of his father.

..... "وإن فقدنا والدنا فأنتم لنا من بعده الوالد والذخر الذي تكرم منه العوائد ، والحب يتوارث كما ورد في الأخبار التي صحت منها الشواهد ، ومن أعد مثلكم لبنيه فقد تيسرت من بعد الممات أمانيه ، وتأسست قواعده ملكه وتشيدت مبانيه ، فالاعتقاد الجميل موصول ، والفروع لها في التشييع اليكم أصول ، وفي تقرير فخركم محصول ، وأنتم رداء المسلمين بهذه البلاد المسلمة الذي يعينهم بإرفاده وينصرهم بإنجاده ، ويعامل الله تعالى فيها بصدق جهاده....."

"..... If we have lost our father you would be a father to us in his place, and you are the most reliable person (for this task). Love, according to many accounts, is inherited, and he who depends on a person like you to take care of his sons will have his hopes realized after his death. The bases of his dominion will be strengthened, and his plans will be carried out successfully (lit: his buildings will be constructed). Thus, our trust in you is continued and the members of our family are still under your protection as our ancestors have been. You are the shelter of Muslims in these countries, and the one who aids them and relieves them, and who worships God through his sincere jihad in the defence of this nation..."

The letters and poems concerning the disputes between Morocco and Granada do not fail to mention the Granadines' need for Moroccan aid. They express the Granadines' appreciation of the effective role of Moroccan military assistance to Granada. When Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥaqq al-Marīnī, the Moroccan king, prepared for his departure to Morocco from Algeciras after his signal victory over the Spanish forces commanded by Don Nuño in 674/1275, Muḥammad II, king of Granada, ordered his poet Abū 'Amr Ibn al-Murābiṭ to write a poem to Abū Yūsuf to express fears of Christian revenge. Ibn

al-Murābiṭ, on behalf of his king, apologized to Abū Yūsuf for the Granadine monarch's boycott of the Moroccan king during his stay in Andalusia. He stated that, without the Marīnids of Morocco, Granada would not survive any longer under Muslim rule. The dispute between Granada and Morocco at that time seems to have arisen from Moroccan support to the rebels against the Naṣrid ruler in Malaga and Guadix. The poem commissioned by King Muḥammad II contains some indications as to the causes of that dispute.⁽¹⁾ The major part of this poem carries fervid appeals for Moroccan help:

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| 1) من مُتَّهِمٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَوْ مِنْ مُنْجِدٍ ؟ | هل من معيني في الهوى أو مُنْجِدِي |
| 2) بِإِجَابَةٍ وَإِنَابَةٍ أَوْ مُسْعِفٍ ؟ | هذا الهوى داعٍ، فهل من مُسْعِفٍ؟ |
| 3) بِالْعُدْوَتَيْنِ مِنْ أَمْرٍ مُسْتَرْشِدٍ ؟ | هذي سبيلُ الرشد قد وَضَحَتْ فَهَلْ |
| 4) يَخْشَى الْمَسِيرَ إِلَى الْجَحِيمِ الْمُوقَدِ ؟ | يَرْجُو النِّجَاةَ بِجَنَّةِ الْفِرْدَوْسِ أَوْ |
| 5) أَجِبِ الْهُدَى تُسَعِّدْ بِهِ وَتُؤَيِّدْ | يَا أَمَلُ النِّصْرِ الْعَزِيزِ عَلَى الْعَدَى |
| 6) إِنَّ الْهُدَى لَهُوَ النِّجَاةُ لِمَنْ هُدِيَ | سَرَّ النِّجَاءِ إِلَى النِّجَاقِ مَشْمُورَا |
| 7) أَلَدَيْكَ عِلْمٌ أَنْ تَعِيشَ إِلَى غَدٍ | يَا مَنْ يَقُولُ غَدًا أَتُوبُ وَلَا غَدَ |
| 8) إِنَّ لِمَنْ يَحْنُ لَكَ نَقْدُهُ فَكَأَنَّ قَدِرَ | لَا تَخْتَرِ بِنَسِيئَةِ الْأَجَلِ الَّذِي |
| 9) لَمْ تَسْتَعِدْ لَطَوِيلِهِ فَاسْتَعْدِدْ | سَفَرٌ عَلَيْكَ طَوِيلٌ أَيَّامُهُ |
| 10) زَادَ لِكُلِّ مَسَافِرٍ فَتَزُودَ | أَوْ مَا عَلِمْتَ بَأَنَّهُ لَا بَدَّ مِنْ |
| 11) خُذْ مِنْهُ زَادَكَ لِأَرْحَالِكَ تَسْعَدِ | هَذَا الْجِهَادُ رَئِيسُ أَعْمَالِ التَّقَى |
| 12) مِنْهُ لِمَا يُرْضِي إِلَّا هَكَذَا وَاعْتَدِ | هَذَا الرِّبَاطُ بِأَرْضِ أَنْدَلُسٍ فَرُحْ |
| 13) وَجْهًا لِلْقِيَا لِلَّهِ غَيْرَ مَسْجُودِ | سُودَ تَوَجَّهَكَ بِالْمَعَاصِي فَالْتَمَسْ |
| 14) مَحْتِ الدَّمْعِ خَطِيئَةَ الْمُتَعَمِّدِ | وَأَمَحْ الْخَطَايَا بِالْدَمْعِ فَرْتَمَسَا |

(1) See this poem in: 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 409; Dhakhīra, pp. 188-189; Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 562; Adler, pp. 32-33.

من ذا يتوب لربه من ذنبيه
من ذا يطهر نفسه بعزيمه
أتعز من أرض العدو مدائن
وتذل أرض المسلمين وتبتلى
كم جامع فيها أعياد كنيسة
القس والناقوس فوق مناره
أسفا عليها أفقرت صلواتها
وتعوذت منهم بكل معاند
كم من أسير عندهم وأسيرة
كم من عقيلة معشر معقولة
كم من وليد بينهم قد ود من
كم من تقي في السلاسل موثق
وشهيد مترك تورعه الردى
ضجت ملائكة السماء لحالهم
أفلا تذوب قلوبكم اخواننا
أفلا تراعون الأذمة بيننا
أذا يعيث الروم في اخوانكم
يا حسرة لحمة الإسلام قد
أين العزائم ما لها لا تنضى
أبني مرين أنتم جيراننا
فالجار كان به يوصي المصطفى
أبني مرين والقبائل كلها
كتب الجهاد عليكم فبادروا
وارضوا بإحدى الحسنين وأقرضوا
هذي الجنان تفتحت أبوابها
من بائع من ربه من مشتر

أويقتدي بنبه أويتهدي (15)
مشحودة في نصردين محمدي (16)
والله في أقطارها لم يغبر (17)
بمثلين سطوا بكل موحد (18)
فأهلك عليه أسي ولا تتجلد (19)
والخمر والخنزير وسط المسجد (20)
من قانتين وراكعين وسجد (21)
مستكبر مذ كان لم يتشهر (22)
فكلاهما يبغي الفداء فما فدي (23)
فيهم تود لو أنها في ملحد (24)
ولداه ودا أنه لم يولد (25)
يبكي لآخر في الكبول مقيد (26)
ما بين حدي ذابل ومهند (27)
ورثي لهم من قلبه كالجلد (28)
مما د هانا من ردي أو من ردي (29)
من حرمه ومحبة وشودد (30)
وسيو فكم للثار لم تتقلد (31)
خمدت وكانت قبل ذات توقد (32)
هل يقطع الهندي غير مجرد (33)
وأحق من في صرخة بهم أبتدي (34)
جبريل حقا في الصحيح المسند (35)
في المغرب الأدنى لنا والأبعد (36)
منه إلى فرض الأحق الأوكد (37)
حسنا تفوزوا بالحسن الخرد (38)
والحور قاعدة لكم بالعرصد (39)
منه الحصول على النعيم السرمد (40)

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| 41) صِدِّقْ فَثُورُوا بِانْتِجَازِ الْمَوْعِدِ | لِلَّهِ فِي نَصْرِ الْحَنِيفَةِ مَوْعِدٌ |
| 42) شَكُوهُ الْعَدِيمِ إِلَى الْغَنِيِّ الْأَوْحَدِ | هَذَا الشُّغُورُ بِكُمْ لَيْكُم تَشْتَكِي |
| 43) فِيهَا وَشَمَلُ الْكَفْرِ غَيْرُ مَبْدَدٍ | مَا بِالْ شَمَلِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مَبْدَدٌ ؟ |
| 44) تَأْسُونَ لِلدِّينِ الْغَرِيبِ الْمُفْرَدِ | أَنْتُمْ جِيوشُ اللَّهِ مَلَأَ فُضَائِهِ |
| 45) وَطَرِيقُ هَذَا الْعَذْرِ غَيْرُ مَهْشَدٍ | مَاذَا اعْتَذَرُكُمْ غَدًا لِنَبِيِّكُمْ |
| 46) وَتَرَكْتُمُوهُمْ لِلْعَدُوِّ وَالْمُعْتَدِي | إِنْ قَالَ لِمَ فَرَطْتُمْ فِي أُمْتِي |
| 47) لَكْفَى الْحَيَا مِنْ وَجْهِ ذَاكَ السَّيِّدِ | لِلَّهِ لَوْ أَنَّ الْعَقُوبَةَ لَمْ تُخَفِّ |
| 48) وَسَلُوا الشِّفَاعَةَ مِنْهُ يَوْمَ الْمَشْهَدِ | أَخَوَانَنَا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا |
| 49) مِنْ حَوْضِهِ فِي الْحَشْرِ أَعْذَبَ مَوْرِدِ | وَاسْعُوا لِنَصْرَةِ دِينِهِ يَسْقِيكُمْ |

- 1) Is there one to help me or relieve me from my suffering in love, either from those who live in the highlands or in the lowlands?
- 2) This love is calling, is there one to respond to its call either by an answer or by repeating the call. Nay, is there one to bestow favours upon us?
- 3) (Here is the path of safety. Is there one, be it in Spain or be it in Africa, willing to enter it?
- 4) Who dreads Gehenna's flames, the torments of the damned, and longs for the eternal bliss of Paradise, where cooling shades and fountains are reserved for him?
- 5) Thou who art eager for victory in this our struggle for the faith, obey the impulse of thy heart.
- 6) Go armed with hope and confidence to meet salvation, and since thy cause is noble there will be success.
- 7) Delay not, for who can assure thee of thy life to-morrow?
- 8) The time of death is never known to us, but rest assured, thou never shalt escape the payment of the debt from which no mortals are exempt. If not today thou must soon expect to leave thy place.
- 9) The journey before thee is difficult, and one from which there can be no return.

- 10) Be up then, and to ease the hardship of the road, supply thyself with an abundance of good work.
- 11) And recollect the first and the most important of pious works is this our sacred war for the maintainance of our faith.
- 12) Improve then the precious opportunity, and move at once to combat on the soil of Andalus, for God loves and rewards who dedicates himself to such a fight.)*
- 13) You have brought yourself into discredit before God (lit: blackened your face) by sins. Thus you have to perform pious works with which to meet God.
- 14) You have to cleanse yourself from these sins by flowing tears, since tears may atone for deliberate disobedience.
- 15) Who is ready to apologize to God for his fault? who wishes to follow the example of the Prophet?
- 16) (Who's ready now to flee to God, and by combating for him to purge his soul of the contamination of his sins)**
- 17) How do the cities of the enemy remain strong, when God is not worshipped in them?
- 18) How do you endure the fact that the Muslim lands are seized and afflicted by the believers in the Trinity, who overcome the believers in the one God!
- 19) How many mosques in this land have been converted into churches! alas!
- 20) The priests and the church bells are at the top of the minarets. Wine and pigs are seen inside the mosques.
- 21) Alas, for that! The prayers of the believers who bow to God and kneel down to Him are not heard any longer in these mosques.
- 22) They are replaced by presumptuous disobedient men who have never, since they were created, testified that there is no God but Allāh and that Muhammad is the messenger of God.
- 23) How many male and female captives (of our nation) are still among them, longing for ransom and there is no one to ransom them.

(*) Verses 3-12 are translated by Adler, p. 32.

(**) Tr. by Adler.

- 24) How many noble maidens are in chains
wishing they were dead.
- 25) How many children are still among
the prisoners while their parents
wish they hadn't given birth to them!
- 26) How many pious ones are still enchained,
weeping for seeing each other in chains!
- 27) How many martyrs are killed by swords
which leave their bodies scattered here
and there!
- 28) The angels of heaven are perturbed by
their fate, and even the men whose
hearts are of stone took pity on them.
- 29) Oh, our brothers! Do your hearts not
waste away with grief and sorrow for what
has afflicted us of death and misfortune?!
- 30) Do you not abide by the relations of
kinship, friendship and respect between
us?!
- 31) Can you endure the fact that the
Christians perpetrate havoc among your
brothers, and your swords of vengeance are
not drawn?!
- 32) (Alas! the pride of Islam is extinct,
that pride which once so nobly glowed.
- 33) Why do you hesitate thus in despair? Do
you expect the sword to wound, unless ye
draw it?!
- 34) You are our neighbours, ye Marīnids, let
therefore now succor be the first.)*
- 35) Gabriel advised the Prophet to look after
his neighbour, and that fact is recorded
in the Islamic books.
- 36) O Banū Marīn, and all tribes in the near
and distant parts of Morocco, you are our
saviours.
- 37) (The war for our common Faith is your
first highest and more sacred duty.
- 38) Neglect it not! and choose one of the two,
the glory of victory or martyrdom! Then the
Lord vouchsafe you rich rewards and fairest
maidens will receive you in His heaven.
- 39) The black-eyed houris of His Paradise above
are even now ready to bid you welcome.)
- 40) Who then will now offer himself to God,
and secure from him heaven's eternal boon?

(*) The verses between brackets are Adler's translation.

- 41) (Allāh has pledged protection to the faith and never has His word been broken). Therefore you have to rouse yourselves to see the promise realized.
- 42) These frontiers are complaining to you, a complaint from those who have no protector except God, the Rich, the One.
- 43) Why are Muslims still disunited while the infidels are united?!
- 44) You are the army of God on earth, you who should sympathize with this peerless religion.
- 45) How would you justify your position to the Prophet when he questions you on the day of judgment?
- 46) (How ye excuse were he to say to you: why did you not succor my people in distress, when it was so maltreated by the enemy?!
- 47) Could you escape the punishment, were ye with shame to hear this from his lips?
- 48) Beseech him therefore to remain an intercessor for you on the dreaded day of judgment,
- 49) And fight now valiantly for his faith, then he'll conduct you, brethren, safely to the pure limpid fountains of his Paradise).

It can be seen from this poem that the poet used all possible means to implore the Moroccan king to stay in Andalusia, and it may be concluded also that the expeditions of Abū Yūsuf, the Marīnid king, in Andalusia, although they were the subject of much adulation by writers and historians, were not as effective as was desired by the Granadine people. From this poem it is clear that the Marīnids were unable to regain any of the Andalusian cities from the Spaniards, or release the Muslim captives from Spanish prisons, or put an end to the harassment of the Andalusian Muslims by the Spaniards.

On the other hand, this poem was the first of many exchanged between the Marīnid and Naṣrid kings, forming in a way a series of poetical mu'āradāt (parody). The writers of these poems seem to have followed the poetic style of al-Farazdaq, Jareer and al-Akḥṭal, the famous Umayyad poets, in their poetical mu'āradāt, by making the reply adhere to the same poetical metre and rhyme as the original poem. These poems can be seen also to be of great historical importance, because they form a dialogue between two governments about political, social and historical subjects. On his hearing the poem of Ibn al-Murābiṭ, Abū Yūsuf ordered his poet Abū al-Ḥakam Mālik Ibn al-Muraḥḥal al-Sabtī (604-699/1207-1299) to write a poem in reply to it. Ibn al-Muraḥḥal wrote a poem beginning with the verse:(1)

شَهِدَ الْإِلَٰهُ وَأَنْتِ يَا أَرْضُ أَشْهَدِي أَنَا أَجَبْنَا صَرْخَةَ الْمُسْتَجِيرِ

"God is witness, and you, o earth! be witness too that we have responded to the cry of those who sought our aid!".

This poem follows the same poetical metre and rhyme scheme of Ibn al-Murābiṭ's poem. In his poem Ibn al-Muraḥḥal, on behalf of King Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb, alternates between sternness and gentleness in his reply to Muhammad II. He talks about the Marīnid military assistance to Granada and the ingratitude of the Granadine ruler. Abū

(1) See this poem in Durra, vol. 3, p. 21; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 414.

Yūsuf also accuses the Nasrid ruler of neglecting religious customs and of following the example of the Christians in many ways, and of insulting the learned men of Granada. He also blames King Muhammad II for creating hostility between Granada and Morocco. The following are some verses of Abū Yūsuf's reply:

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 2) | قَمْنَا لِنَصْرَتِهِ وَلَمْ نَسْتَرْدِدْ | لَمَّا دَعَا الدَّاعِي وَرَدَّ صَوْتَهُ |
| 9) | إِلَّا الْجِهَادَ وَنَصْرَ دِينِ مُحَمَّدٍ | اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّا لَمْ نَعْتَقِدْ |
| 10) | مَلِكُكَ تَقَدَّمَ بِالْجِيُوشِ لِمَرْصَدِ | ثُمَّ اعْتَرَضْنَا الْبَحْرَ وَهُوَ كَأَنَّهُ |
| 11) | هَيْهَاتَ مَا الْعَاءُ الْأَجَا حُ بِمُورِدِ | فَتَرَامَتِ الْخَيْلُ الْعَطَاشُ لِيُورِدَهُ |
| 12) | وَمُشَارِيًا وَمَزَارِعًا لَمْ تُحْصَدِ | يَا خَيْلُ إِنَّا وَرَاءَنَا مَاءٌ رَوَى |
| 13) | يَتَوَقَّعُونَ الْمَوْتَ إِن لَمْ تُنْجِدِ | وَأَحِبَّةَ بَيْنَ الْعِدَا قَدْ أَصْبَحُوا |
| 14) | تَجْرِي دُمُوعُ جَفُونِهِ لَمَقِيَّةٍ | مِنْ مُطْلِقِ الْعِبَرَاتِ إِلَّا أَنَّهُ |
| 15) | وَمَرْوَعٍ لَا يَسْتَقَرُّ بِمَرْقَةٍ | وَمَفْجَعٍ لَا يَسْتَلْذُ بِمَطْعَةٍ |
| 16) | وَلَهُمْ مَزِيدُ تَحَبُّبٍ وَتَوُدٍّ | إِخْوَانُنَا فِي دِينِنَا وَوَدَادِنَا |
| 19) | كَالشَّمْسِ يَوْمَ طُلُوعِهَا لِلْأَسْعَدِ | فَاسْتَبَشَرُوا فِي أَفْقِهِمْ بِطُلُوعِنَا |
| 21) | مَتَى بِذَلِكَ مُؤَيَّدٌ وَمُسَدَّدٌ | ثُمَّ التَّقِينَا بِالذِّينِ اسْتَصْرَخُوا |
| 22) | وَدَنَا الْمَزَارُ وَقِيلَ لِلْبُعْدِ ابْعُدِ | حَتَّى إِذَا جِئْنَا وَجَاءُوا نَحْنُونا |
| 23) | بَسَطُوا لَنَا الْآمَالَ بَسَطَ مَهْدِ | وَأَزُورُ جَانِبَهُمْ وَشَدَّ وَابْعُدْ مَا |
| 24) | وَلَنَا بِهَا مَلِكٌ رَضِيَ الْمُحْتَدِ | أَوْ مَا رَأَوْا أَنَّا تَرَكْنَا أَرْضَنَا |
| 25) | فَمَزُودٍ مِنْهُمْ وَغَيْرِ مَزُودِ | وَأَطَاعَنَا قَوْمٌ كَثِيرٌ أَسْرَعُوا |
| 26) | يَبْقَى لَكُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ مَوْضِعُ مَسْجِدٍ ؟ ! | أَتَرُونَ إِنَّا عَادُوا إِلَى أَوْطَانِهِمْ |
| 29) | فِيكُمْ فَيَرْجِعُ مِنْ مَضَى بِتَرْيَدِ | إِنَّا أَرَدْنَا أَنْ رَعَيْنَا قَوْمَنَا |
| 30) | وَيَكُونُ يَوْمَكُمْ يَقْصُرُ عَنْ غَدِ | حَتَّى تَرُونَ بِلَادَكُمْ مَعْمُورَةً |
| 31) | إِن لَمْ تَمُدَّ حِبَالَهَا فَكُنْ قَدِ | فَالْيَوْمَ قَدْ أَوْحَشْتُمُونَا وَحَسَنَةً |
| 32) | حَتَّى ابْتَدَيْتُمْ بِالْمَكَانِ الْأَبْعَدِ | يَا لَيْتَ شِعْرِي مَا بَدَأَ مِنَّا لَكُمْ |

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 33) | أدراك من وديّ قديم مقبل | تالله لولا ودينا فيكم ومما |
| 34) | ويثور بعد تذللٍ وتعبدٍ | ومخافنا أن يستطيلَ عدوكم |
| 35) | وتركها لكم ولم أتعهد | لخرجت من هذي البلاد بمن معي |
| 36) | دون العدا والله خير مؤيد | أوما علمتم أننا أيدٍ لكم |
| 37) | منكم لكنتم بالحضيض الأوهيد | لولا رجال من مرين رفّعوا |
| 38) | عنكم لكنتم كالنساء الخُرد | لولا رجال من مرين قاتلوا |
| 39) | في زبيهم وكلامهم في العشهد | يتشبهون بكل أغلف كامن |
| 40) | ومناكر يأتونها وسط الندي | وطعامهم وخلالهم وشرابهم |
| 41) | أعيان من أهل التقى والسؤدد | وتنقص العلماء والفضلاء والـ |
| 42) | بنبيه وإمامه لم يهتدد | كيف الهدى لهم ومن لا يقتدي |
| 43) | إن الوداد - لعهد - لم ينفد | هذا عتاب ليس فيه قطيعة |
| 45) | يدعوا بته دعوى محبٍ مسعبد | ثم السلام عليكم من والـ |

- 2) When the caller repeated his call for help we took up arms to help him without hesitation.
- 9) God knows that we don't believe in anything except jihad and fighting for the religion of the Prophet.
- 10) Then we took a risk by crossing the sea, which was like a king standing in front of his armies waiting for us.
- 11) The thirsty horses rushed to drink its water, but salty water is not for drinking.
- 12) O horses! there are, waiting for us, delicious waters, and farms still unharvested.
- 13) And beloved people in the territory of the enemy who are always under threat of death unless we relieve them.
- 14) Their tears are flowing because of their sadness at the sight of their captive relatives.
- 15) And there are stricken people who don't taste any food, and there are terrified people who never settle in their beds.
- 16) They are our brethren by faith and deep-rooted relationships, and we bear for them affection and respect.

- 19) The Granadines were pleased by our appearance in their country, which was like the rise of the sun on a joyous day.
- 21) Then we met those who had sought our help, wise and far-sighted ones.
- 22) But when we joined each other and became closer with mutual understanding.
- 23) They suddenly boycotted us hostilely, after they had smoothed our way and after a warm reception.
- 24) Didn't they realize that we had left our land in which we have a strong domain?
- 25) And that many of our people heeded our call by rushing to help, both by provisions and by offering their lives?
- 26) Have you ever thought that if they were to return to their country, you would not have a place for prayer left for you?
- 29) We were able to command our people to help you take control of your country, and to achieve greater profit.⁽¹⁾
- 30) So that you would see your country prospering and the morrow (i.e the future) hold more promise for you than today (the present).
- 31) But now you make us feel estranged and create a hostility which becomes more deep-seated every day.
- 32) Would that I knew what our fault was, that made you turn hostile?
- 33) By God, if we hadn't an inherited and deep-rooted love for you,
- 34) And if we didn't fear that your enemy would have taken advantage of our quarrels, and feel strong after being humiliated and enslaved,
- 35) I would have departed from this country with my army and left it to you, and I would have never cared to make a tryst.
- 36) Do you not realize that we are your source of power in your conflict with your enemies, and that God is the best supporter (for both of us)?

(1) The text of this verse is somewhat confused and vague.

- 37) If the men of Marīn had not upheld
your dignity you would have been
humiliated.
- 38) If the men of Marīn had not defended
you, you would have been like women.
- 39) You are following the example of the
uncircumcised Spaniards in their
manner of dress, and their language
which you use in public.
- 40) You imitate them in their food and
drinking habits, and in their
reprehensible practices.
- 41) You run down learned men, distinguished
notables of piety and nobility.
- 42) How can they find their way back to the
true Faith? If a man doesn't follow the
example of the Prophet he won't find
the right path.
- 43) All this is just sincere criticism, by
which I don't wish any worsening of
relations, since love between us is
still, as usual, alive.
- 45) And finally, greetings to you, from
a person who assumes paternal
responsibility for you and who treats
you as a dear son.

On his receipt of Abū Yūsuf's reply, Muḥammad II of Granada ordered his poet Ibn al-Murābiṭ to write another letter in verse to the Marīnid king. Ibn al-Murābiṭ wrote a poem in which he adhered again to the poetical metre and rhyme of the two previous poems. The opening verse of this poem is: (1)

قُلْ لِلْخُدَاةِ وَلِلْبُخَاةِ الْحُسْنُ يَعْقُوبُ وَالْأَنَا مَكَانَ مُحَمَّدٍ

"Tell the envious enemies that Ya'qūb is
a father to us in place of Muḥammad".
(i.e. Muḥammad I, the king's father)

(1) See this poem in: Durra, vol. 3, p. 24; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 414.

In this poem Muḥammad II Ibn al-Aḥmar denies all charges made against him by Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb. He says also that these charges were but rumours spread by opponents and envious men. He probably hints here at the Banū Ashqilūla, the rebels in Málaga, who pledged their allegiance to Abū Yūsuf shortly after his arrival in Andalusia. Ibn al-Aḥmar admits in this poem that Yaʿqūb did not hesitate in leading his army into Andalusia to relieve its harassed Muslims, and that he fought the Spaniards and defeated them. As a gesture of respect, Muḥammad II addresses Yaʿqūb as if he were his father Muḥammad I. This was a set formula, used in most of the letters and poems issuing from the Granadine court and sent to Morocco. The Moroccan rulers were, described as being fathers or brothers to the Granadine rulers. This was probably intended as a gesture of respect to the Moroccan kings, confirming the good relations between the two countries and helping to secure more aid from Morocco. There are references in this poem and in the two previous poems to the necessity of maintaining Muslim unity. This was probably meant to indicate that every Muslim country had a responsibility to defend the Muslim lands in Andalusia. Here are some relevant verses from the third poem under discussion:

- | | | |
|----|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 2) | والدينُ آخى بين أُمَّةٍ أَحْمَدِ | وينو مرينُ كُلُّهُمْ إِخْوَانُنَا |
| 3) | ما عاش يعقوبُ كأن لم يُفْقَدِ | إنْ كان مفقوداً أبونا إِنَّهُ |
| 5) | من شغرا ندلسٍ فلم يترددِ | يعقوبُ ناديناهُ من مراكشِ |
| 6) | متنَ الفلاةِ ولجَّ بحرٍ مُزِيدِ | وأجابَ داعينا وجابَ لنصرنا |
| 7) | لوجوههم وسطَ السعيرِ الموقدِ | وغزا بلادَ الرومِ غزواً كبَّهُمُ |
| 8) | من مَنَّةٍ لأبٍ على ابنٍ أُوَيَّدِ | فله علينا مَنَّةٌ وَيَدٌ وَكَمُ |

- 2) And all Marīnids are our brethren,
and religion has made one family
of all the members of the nation
of the Prophet Muhammad.
- 3) As long as Ya'qūb is alive I feel
that my father is still alive too.
- 5) We called to Ya'qūb in Marrakesh,
from the front line in Andalusia,
and he did not hesitate (to comply
with our call).
- 6) He responded to our call and
rushed to help us, crossing over
the open deserts and the chasm of
the tumultuous sea.
- 7) He invaded the cities of the Christians
and drove them into a blazing
fire.
- 8) Thus we acknowledge his support
and favours to us, and sons owe
their fathers many a favour.

‘Abd al-‘Azīz al-Malzūzī, one of Ya'qūb's poets,
wrote a poem on behalf of King Ya'qūb, in which he spoke
about Ya'qūb's decision to help the Granadines against
the Spaniards. The first hemistich of the opening verse
of this poem reads:⁽¹⁾

لبيك لا تخش اعتداء المعتدي....

"Here we are! hastening to your call.
Don't fear the enemy's assault"....

(1) Ibar, vol. 7, p. 414.

But unfortunately this poem appears to have been lost.

What concerns us in these poems is that they seem to have led to a temporary understanding between Granada and Fez. They also made Abū Yūsuf eventually return to Granada with a tremendous army in 676/1277, inflicting many defeats upon the Spaniards, and consequently strengthening the power of Granada.

The discussion of political affairs and relations in general between Granada and Fez in the form of poetical mu'āradāt (parody) seems to have fascinated both Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad II. Another round of these poetico-political exchanges was held in Granada on the return of Abū Yūsuf to Andalusia in 676/1277. Ibn al-Murābiṭ, the poet of Muḥammad II Ibn al-Aḥmar, recited a poem to Abū Yūsuf starting with the hemistich: (1)

بشرى لحرب الله والايمان

"It is good news about the fight in the cause of God and the Faith..."

ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Malzūzī, the poet of Abū Yūsuf, replied with another poem in the same metre and rhyme used in Ibn al-Murābiṭ's poem. He started his poem with the verse:

اليوم كن في غبطة وأمان . . .

(1) See: Ibar, vol. 7, p. 414.

"Today you can enjoy happiness and peace".

Unfortunately these poems appear to have been lost; but Ibn al-Khatīb reports that poems of this type amounting to exchanges in verse of the same metrical and rhyming schemes were quite common among the Granadine people in his time.⁽¹⁾ As disputes often broke out between Granada and Fez, the Marīnid kings kept reminding the Nasrid kings of past Moroccan favours, while the Granadine kings continued, perhaps out of expediency, to acknowledge these favours.⁽²⁾

The political and martial developments in Morocco were the subject of many letters sent from the Granadine rulers to that country. The writers of these letters managed to see a connection between these developments and the situation in Granada. They suggested that developments in Morocco could noticeably affect Granada, since, on the one hand, the Marīnid victories in north Africa gave the opportunity to the Marīnids to gain similar victories over the Spaniards in Andalusia, while, on the other hand, the anarchy in north Africa impeded or minimised the support the Marīnids could give to Granada, and enabled the Spaniards to

(1) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 562.

(2) For examples see: Ḥadā'iq, vol. 2, pp. 595-596; Kunāsa, pp. 133, 137 & 140; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 420; Diwān Yūsuf, pp. 231 & 50-52.

harass the Granadine people.⁽¹⁾ Many of these letters are congratulatory addresses in which the Granadine rulers expressed their joy over the Marīnid triumphs and successes, considering these successes as profitable to the Granadine Muslims. They also urged the Marīnid kings to proceed to Andalusia to help stop the Spanish threat. Among the letters on this subject is one sent by King Yūsuf I of Granada to Abū 'Inān, the Marīnid king, congratulating him on his conquest of Tlemcen in 752/1352.⁽²⁾ The author of this long letter exaggerates Granadine joy over that victory, because it raised the hopes of the Granadine people, and because it was looked at as the forerunner of similar Marīnid victories in Spain. In part of the introduction to this letter, Yūsuf I says:

”... ونحن من السرور بما يُسَنِّيه الله لكم بحيث لا تلبسون حلّة صُنِعَ إلّا لبسنا
مثالها ، ولا تتألون سبب نعمة إلّا حوّدنا مثالها ، ولا تجتلون غرة فتوح إلّا
استجلينا جمالها ، نشرب من ذلك فضل شريك ، ونرد عقب وردكم ، ونمت إليه
بمثل مات مجدركم ، فكلما امتد لدولتكم العلية ظلّ عزّ انفسحت آمالنا
وامتدت ، واشدت لملككم عروة نصر قويت أعضادنا واشدت ...”

”... and we are delighted with what God bestowed upon you, to the degree that whenever you rejoice in any triumph we do the same; whenever you get any benefit we thank God for it, and whenever you achieve any victory we expect to share in its fruits.

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- (1) For examples see: Subh, vol. 7, pp. 57-59; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 37; Subh, vol. 7, pp. 63 & 99; Remiro, pp. 127-130 & 135-138; Kunāsa, pp. 64-73, 75-77, 79-82, 84-86 & 88-92; ʿUfāda, pp. 224-228.
(2) Kunāsa, pp. 64-73.

In this respect we drink the remnants of what you drink, and approach the water after you have left it. Benefits accrue to us from your successes as they do to you. The more extensive your exalted domains become, the greater the hopes we entertain. Whenever you gain a victory, our confidence grows and our determination becomes more resolute.."

King Yūsuf I also adds that it was good news for Granada that all was quiet and peaceful in Morocco after the conquest of Tlemcen, as such a situation would give Abū 'Inān the opportunity to pay attention to the distressed Granadine Muslims:

”...وُشِّرَى لِهَذَا الْقَطْرِ الْغَرِيبِ الَّذِي يَمُدُّ إِلَى عِزْمَاتِ جِهَادِكُمْ يَدَ الرَّاعِبِ وَيَرْتَقِبُ
ارْتِفَاعَ الشَّوَاغِلِ وَالشَّوَاغِبِ...”

The writer of this letter also speaks of reactions to the news of Abū 'Inān's achievements, among both the Muslims and the Christians of Andalusia. He says:

”...وَأَنَّ نَبَأَ هَذَا الْفَتْحِ فِي قَلْبِ الْعَدُوِّ وَلِكَبِيرٍ وَعَلَى سَمْعِهِ لَأَثْقَلُ مِنْ رِضْوَى وَثِيرٍ، فَمِمَّا لَا يَفْتَقِرُ إِلَيْهِ تَمْهِيدٌ وَتَقْرِيرٌ أَنَّ الْجِهَادَ لَا يَزَالُ تَجَاهُ ذَلِكَ الْمَقَامِ الْكَرِيمِ وَنَصَبَ عَيْنَيْهِ، وَأَنَّ الظُّهُورَ عَلَى أَعْدَاءِ دِينِ اللَّهِ دَيْنٌ لِحَسَامِهِ، وَهُوَ لَا يَنَامُ عَنْ اقْتِضَائِهِ دَيْنُهُ، فَمِمَّا هُمْ النَّفُوسُ الْكَرِيمَةُ إِلَّا اتِّسَابُ الْمَنَاقِبِ الْفَاخِرَةِ، وَلَا بَعْدَ تَحْصِيلِ الدُّنْيَا إِلَّا الْفُوزُ بِالْآخِرَةِ، وَلَا وَرَاءَ تَمْهِيدِ الْأُمَّةِ الْمُسْلِمَةِ إِلَّا قِتَالُ الْأُمَّةِ الْكَافِرَةِ...”

".. The tidings of this conquest struck terror in the heart of the enemy, and

struck his ears like a thunder-clap.⁽¹⁾
It is inevitable that jihād is still
the most sacred of your objectives,
and that defeating the enemies of God's
religion is a debt that your spear has
to pay, and it would not rest before
repaying it. The object of noble people
is to gain distinction. There is nothing
more important after gaining the
pleasures of life than gaining the
benefits of the hereafter. And there is
nothing more important after consolidating
control over the Muslim nation than
fighting the infidels..."

Some appeals for Moroccan help were accompanied by
letters carrying the congratulations of the Granadine
rulers on the recovery of Moroccan kings from various
illnesses. In one of these congratulatory letters⁽²⁾ Yūsuf
I of Granada expresses his joy at the recovery of Abū
‘Inān, and manages to associate the happy tidings of that
recovery with the conflict between Granada and the
Spanish states. He says that by regaining his health Abū
‘Inān would continue his military support to Granada:

”... وكيف لا تُسرُّ بنعمة الله قبلكم هذه الجهات التي ما عدت منكم ولا من
سلفكم عناية، ولا فقدت في حالي الشدة والرخاء رعاية، فكلما أفلت آية طلعت
آية، وكلما تعرفت رأيا استقبلت راية، الله تعالى يحفظ من عزائمكم العدة التي
بها تتوعد العدو، ويخطب أملها المرجو، وتعمُرُ بأمانها الرواح والغدو،
ونحن نهنتكم وإن كنا أحق بالهناء...”

(1) The Arabic metaphor mentions Raḡwā and Thabīr, two mountains in al-Ḥijāz.

(2) See this letter in: Kunāsa, pp. 107-108.

"...How could these parts (of the Islamic world) not be pleased by God's favour towards you, since they have never ceased to receive help both from you and from your ancestors in times of ease and in times of adversity. There are many proofs of that. Whenever you think of war you rush into it. May God preserve your health and your determination to invade the enemy. May God realize your hopes by enabling you to raid the enemy in the evening and the morning. We congratulate you, although it is we who are fortunate in your recovery..."

Even in their letters of consolation to the Marīnid rulers, the Granadine kings spoke of their need for Moroccan help.⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Jayyāb, on behalf of King Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl wrote a letter to Abu al-Ḥassan al-Marīnī, consoling him for the death of his father Abū Saʿīd al-Marīnī.⁽²⁾ The king expresses his great sorrow for the death of Abū Saʿīd, because he was a great defender of Granada and a soldier in the cause of God. But then he adds that the Granadines were happy, because Abu al-Ḥasan, the successor to the deceased king, was a reliable supporter of the Granadine Muslims. Ibn al-Jayyāb says, addressing Abu al-Ḥasan:

”... فالحمد لله على أن جبر بكم صدع الايمان ، وانتضى منكم سيفا مسلولا على
عَبْدَةِ الصُّلْبَانِ ، ... وأما هذه البلاد الاندلسية — حماها الله — وان فقدت
من السلطان الأعلى أبي سعيد أكرم ظهير ، ووقع مصابه منها بمحل كبير ، فقد
لجأت منكم الى من يحميها ويكف بأس أعاديها ، ويبتغي مرضاة خالقه فيها ،
فملككم بحمد الله تعالى مقبل الشهاب ...”

(1) For examples see: Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 461-464; Istiqṣā', vol. 3, pp. 166-169.

(2) Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 461-464.

"... So, thank God for helping the Faith by placing you like an unsheathed sword before the worshippers of the Cross,... Concerning these Andalusian cities, may God protect them, although they have lost, by the death of the great sultan Abū Sa'īd, their most generous supporter. Yet although struck by his death, they seek now your protection and your effort to stop their enemies' threats. This is your path to God's satisfaction, and you can follow this path since your reign is still in its prime..."

The Granadine letters and poems directly appealing for Moroccan help are considerable in number, and very similar in content. They try to draw the attention of the Moroccan kings to the Spanish threat to Granada, as well as to other Islamic countries. They also contain complaints about the isolated position of Granada, situated as it was between strong enemies and a dangerous sea. They are also in agreement over the small number of the Granadine people and the weakness of the Granadine army in comparison with the growing numbers and increasing power of the Spaniards. It is a collective feature of these letters and poems that they tried to excite the zeal of the Marīnid kings by talking about the sufferings of both male and female Granadine captives in Spanish prisons. The writers of these letters also used to describe how Granadine children were deprived of their parents, and how Muslim mosques were converted into Christian churches. They often talked of the rights of neighbourliness, the religious

brotherhood, and the old inherited friendly relations between Morocco and Granada. Generally, the Granadine writers used all possible means to stir up the Moroccan kings' zeal through a considerable number of direct appeals.⁽¹⁾

There are many indications that numerous appeals were sent from Granada to Morocco in the second half of the 7th/13th century,⁽²⁾ but unfortunately very few of these appeals for help have survived. The majority of Granadine letters appealing for Marīnid help have come down to us from the 8th/14th century. This is probably because the power of the Marīnids in Morocco reached its peak in that century. Few letters of appeal are reported to have been sent to Morocco from Granada in the 9th/15th century.⁽³⁾ The reasons for the scarcity of appeals at that time are probably the decline in the relations between Granada and Morocco on the one hand, and the civil strife in Morocco on the other, which made the Granadines send their appeals for help to other Muslim countries such as Tunisia and Egypt.

(1) For examples of these appeals see: Remiro, pp. 164, 165, 191, 206 & 361; Nafh, vol. 2, p. 624, vol. 4, p. 404, 411, 415, 429, 438, 444 & vol. 5, pp. 458 - 465.

(2) For these indications see: Dhakhira, pp. 142, 159 & 161; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 393; Conde, pp. 166 & 173.

(3) Irving, vol. 1, p. 29.

Among the Granadine letters requesting Moroccan help in the 8th/14th century is a letter written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, on behalf of King Muḥammad V of Granada in 767/1365.⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb sent this letter after the spread of the news that the Pope had summoned a great Christian army to support Henry against his brother Pedro, the dethroned king of Castile, and to enable Henry to invade Granada. In part of this letter Ibn al-Khaṭīb addresses the Moroccan king saying:

وان تشوّقتم الى أحوال هذا القطر ومن به من المسلمين ، بهقتضى الدين المتين والفضل المبين ، فاعلموا أنّنا في هذه الأيام ندافع من العدو تيارا ، ونكابربحرا زخارا ، ونتوقع - ألا ان وقى الله تعالى - خطوبا كبارا ، ونمدّ اليد الى الله تعالى انتصارا ، ونلجأ اليه اضطرارا ، ونستمدّ دعاء المسلمين بكل قطر استعداد* به واستنصارا ، ونستشير من خواطر الفضلاء ما يحفظ أخطارا ، وينشئ ربح دوح الله طيبة معطارا ، فان القوم الأعظم قيوم دين النصرانية الذي يأمرها فتطيع ، ومخالفته لا تستطيع ، رمى هذه الأمة الغربية المنقطعة منهم بجراد لا يسدّ طريقها ، ولا يحصى فريقها ، التقت على أخي صاحب قشتالة وعزمها أن تملكه بدله ، وتبلغه أمله ، ويكون الكلّ يدا واحدة على المسلمين ، ومناصبه هذا الدين ، واستئصال شأفة المؤمنين ، وهي شدة ليس لأهل هذا الوطن بها عهد ، ولا عرفها نجد ولا وهد ، وقد اقتحموا الحدود القريبة ، والله تعالى وليّ هذه الأمة الغربية ، وقد جعلنا مغاليد أمورنا بيد من يقوّي الضعيف ، ويد رأ الخطب المخيف... ."

(1) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 444.

(*) In Nafh: Isti'dādan (i.e: preparing)

"... If the situation of this country (Granada) and its Muslim people concerns you, according to your true faith and your observable favours, you would know that we are, in these days, struggling against numerous enemies, and that we try hopelessly to stop their onslaught (lit. an overflowing sea of them). We expect, unless God should avert that, great disasters. We ask God to give us victory over our enemies, and we seek His protection earnestly. We also ask Muslims everywhere to implore God to help and support us. We take counsel from learned men as to the means of avoiding this disaster and winning the war. The matter is that the great archpriest, the head of the Christians, whom they obey, and whose orders they do not dare to defy, has sent against this isolated nation innumerable squadrons of an irresistible Christian army, which move like locusts. They supported the brother of the Castilian king to enable him to gain the throne (of Castile), and to bring all the Spaniards together against the Muslims in order to fight our religion and to wipe out the believers. This is a calamity such as the people of this country have never suffered before. The Christian army is stationed very close to our borders, but God is on the side of our secluded nation. We leave our affairs in the hands of Him who strengthens the weak, and who wards off misfortune..."

The Granadine appeals were not only directed to the Moroccan kings, but to the Moroccan people and tribes as well. The Granadine ulema succeeded in convincing the Muslim people that all those Muslims who lived in Granada or travelled in it, no matter whether they took part in the war against the Spaniards or not, were to be well rewarded

by God on the day of judgment.⁽¹⁾ The incitement of the Moroccan people and tribes required touching addresses which had to be written in a simple style readily understood by the common people. Ibn al-Khaṭīb sent a letter addressed to the Moroccan people urging them to travel to Andalusia to defend the Muslim presence there. He says:⁽²⁾

”أيها الناس رحمكم الله تعالى ، إخوانكم المسلمون بالأندلس قد دَهِمَ العدوُّ — قصمه الله تعالى — ساحتهم ، ورام الكفرُ — خذله الله — استباحتهم ، وزحفتُ أحزابُ الطواغيت اليهم ، ومدَّ الصليبُ ذراعَه عليهم ، وأيديكم بعزة الله تعالى أقوى ، وأنتم المؤمنون أهلُ البرِّ والتقوى ، وهو دينكم فانصروه ، وجواركم الغريبُ فلا تخفروه ، وسبيلُ الرشْدِ قد وَضَحَ فلتبصروه ، الجهادُ الجهادُ قد تعين ، الجارُ الجارُ فقد قرَّرَ الشرعُ حقَّه وبين ، اللهُ اللهُ في الإسلام ، اللهُ اللهُ في أمة محمد عليه الصلاة والسلام ، اللهُ اللهُ في المساجد المعمورة بذكر الله ، اللهُ اللهُ في وطن الجهاد في سبيل الله ، قد استغاث بكم الدينُ فأغيثوه ، قد تأكَّد عهدُ الله وحاشاكم أن تنكثوه ، اعينوا إخوانكم بما أمكن من الإعانة ، أعانكم الله تعالى عند الشدائد ، جدِّدوا عوائد الخير ، يصل الله تعالى لكم جميلَ العوائد ، صلوا رحمَ الكلمة واسوا بأنفسكم واموالكم تلك الطوائف المسلمة ، كتابُ الله بين أيديكم ، وألسنةُ الآياتِ تنادىكم ، وسنةُ رسولِ الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قائمةٌ فيكم ، والله سبحانه يقول فيه : ”يا أيُّها الذين آمنوا هل أدلكم على تجارةٍ تنجيكم“ (الصف : ١٠) ومما صحَّ عنه قوله ”من اغترثَ قدماه في سبيل الله حرَّمهما الله على النار“ ”لا يجتمع غبارُ في سبيل الله ودخانُ جهنم“ ”من جهز غزاة في سبيل الله فقد غزا“ ، أدركوا رمقَ الدين قبل أن يفوت ، بادروا عليلَ الإسلام قبل أن يموت ، احفظوا وجوهكم من الله تعالى يوم يسألكم عن عبادته ، جاهدوا في الله بالأسلح والأيدي والأقوال حقَّ جهاده...“

(1) See: Battuta, pp. 664-665; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 253; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 215; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 124 & vol. 6, pp. 28 & 30. Rihlat al-Balawī, vol. 2, pp. 151 - 153; Tuhfa, p. 10.

(2) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 165; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 64.

"O people, may God have mercy upon you,: your Muslim brethren in Andalusia have been surprised by the enemy, may God destroy him! The infidels, may God defeat them, have been longing to invade your co-religionists. The followers of idols have advanced against them, and the Cross has stretched out its arms over them. But your hands, by God's power, are stronger, and you are believers and people of reverence and piety. It is your religion (that is at stake), defend it. (The Muslims of Andalusia) are your isolated neighbours, do not forsake them. The proper path is clear; observe it. Take your share in jihād, as it is the duty of everyone of you. Help your neighbour. Islamic law has pointed out and confirmed the rights due to him. Fear God by preserving Islam. Fear God by protecting the nation of Muḥammad, peace be upon him. Fear God by keeping the mosques resounding with prayers to God. Fear God by preserving the land of jihād. The Faith has called for your help, hasten to help it. Verily, allegiance to God must be proven and far be it from you to be perfidious. Help your brethren as much as you can, may God help you in times of calamity. Renew good deeds, may God continue to bless you with excellent benefits. Attach yourselves to the Faith. Hasten to the relief of that Muslim nation with your property and your lives. The Quran, that you undoubtedly read, and its verses enjoin you to fight. The tradition of the Prophet, peace be upon him, is maintained by you, and God, may He be praised, says: "O you believers, shall I show you merchandise that shall deliver you from the sore torment...".(1) It is reported that the Prophet said: "Whoever allows his feet to become dusty in the cause of God, God would protect them from the fire (of Hell)". "The dust of the jihād and the smoke of Hell will never come together". "Whoever supplies a fighter in the cause of God will be treated by God as a fighter". Avert the loss of the Faith before it is too late. Rush to the ailing

(1) Quran, sūrat al-Saff, verse: 10.

part of the Muslim world before it collapses. Prepare for the day of judgment when God will ask you about (the help you have offered to) his worshippers. Fight truly in the cause of God..."

Ibn al-Khaṭīb then borrows three verses from the first of the aforementioned poems of Ibn al-Murābiṭ, written for Abū Yūsuf al-Marīnī:⁽¹⁾

وطريقُ هذا العذر غيرُ مهمٍّ	ماذا يكونُ جوابُكم لنبيِّكم
وتركتموهُم للعدوِّ والمعتدي	إنَّ قالَ لمْ فرطتمو في امّتي
لكفى الحيا من وجهِ ذاك السيّد	تالله لو أن الحقوة لم تُخِفْ

Ibn al-Khaṭīb then goes on to ask God to soften the hearts of Muslims on account of the sufferings of Granadine women and children, and to make them help to protect Islam in Andalusia.

The Granadine writers also wrote many poems seeking the help of the Moroccan people and tribes.⁽²⁾ One of these poems is written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. Its opening verse is the following:⁽³⁾

* [أ] اخواننا لا تنسوا الفضل والعطفا فقد كاد نور الله بالكفر أن يطفأ

"O brethren, don't forget your previous favours to us and your sympathy with us. Verily, the light of God is about to be put out by the infidels".

In this poem Ibn al-Khaṭīb calls on all Moroccan people to hasten to the help of the Andalusian Muslims. He tries hard

(1) Verses no: 45-47, pp. 231 & 234 above.

(2) For examples see: Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 457 & 458; Diwān Yūsuf, p. 66; Diwān Lisān, p. 625.

(3) Diwān Lisān, pp. 628-630.

(*) This initial hamza does not appear in the original text.

to excite their religious zeal and humane feelings. He says that the enemy had devastated and plundered Muslim properties in Andalusia, and distressed the Muslim people by taking their men, women and children to captivity. Ibn al-Khatīb talks also about the Granadine orphans and widows, who have lost their protectors and supporters. He says:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 2) فقد بَسَطَ الدينُ الحنيفُ لكم كَفْفا | واذ بلغ الماءُ الزُبيا فتداركو |
| 3) فلهفًا على الاسلامِ ما بينهم لهفها | تحكم في سكاّن اندلس العدا |
| 4) فلا حافرا أبقت عليها ولا ظلفا | وجاشت جيوش الكفر بين خيلها |
| 5) وما نام طرفٌ في حماها ولا أغفا | أنوما وإغفاءً على سِنَةِ الكرى |
| 6) فلا وَزَرَ أ عنهم وجدنا ولا كهفها | أحاط بنا الأعداءُ من كلِّ جانبٍ |
| 7) أقامَ عليها الكفرُ يرشُفها رشفا | ثغورٌ غدت مثل الثغور ضواحكا |
| 8) ومن مسجدٍ صار الضلالُ به وقفها | فمن معقل حلّ العدو عقاله |
| 9) ولم تذرا لآذاية قط أو سجفها | ومن غادة بكر جلته يد الجلا |
| 10) تقلب ذعرا بين أعدائها الطرفا | ومن صبية حمر الحواصل أصبحت |
| 11) يعاين في أعيانها الوهن والضعفا | ومن نسوة أضحت أيامى حواسرا |
| 12) من الملاء على تقربنا زلفها | وسيلتنا الاسلام وهو أخوة |
| 13) وذلا وقد عدنا بعز من استصفها | أخوفا وقد لذنا بجاه من ارتضى |
| 14) يجبر من استعدى ويكفي من استكفى | فهل ناصرٌ مستبصرٌ في يقينه |
| 15) فلا نكت في وعد الاله ولا خلفها | ومنتجزٌ فينا من الله وعدّه |
| 16) فلا مشترٍ أولى من الله أو أوفها | وهل بائعٌ فينا من الله نفسه |
| 17) وكيف لضوء الصبح في الأفق أن يخفها | أفي الله شكٌ بعدما وضح الهدى |
| 18) قبائلُ منكم تُعجزُ الحصر والوصفها | وكيف يعيث الكفر فينا ود ونسا |
| 19) لي وث نزال كلما حُصر وا الزحفها | غيوث نوالٍ كلما سُئلوا الندى |
| 20) وإن أرسلت كانت صفائحها الصحفا | إذا كاتبَت يوما أقلامها القنا |

- 21) فقوموا برسم الحق فينا فقد عفا وهبوا لنصر الدين فينا فقد أشفأ
22) وها نحن قد لُذنا بعز حماكُم ونرجو من الله الإدالة واللفا

- 2) As things have come to a head would you take steps to stop them, since the true religion is seeking your aid
- 3) The enemy has been distressing the people of Andalusia, alas and alas for Islam among them.
- 4) The infidel armies have been harassing all its areas, and not sparing even its animals.
- 5) How can you sleep while not one of its people can have any sleep?
- 6) Enemies have been surrounding us from all directions, and we don't have any protection or shelter against them.
- 7) Frontiers which were bright like smiling mouths have come under the control of the enemy.(1)
- 8) How many a fortress has the enemy siezed! and how many a mosque has been turned into a dwelling-place for error.
- 9) How many pretty young virgins have been taken to captivity as a result of this calamity, while they were before in purdah and well cared for.
- 10) How many newborn babies have been eyeing their enemies with extreme fear?
- 11) How many women have been widowed and unprotected, with weakness and illness seen in their eyes?
- 12) Islam is our intercessor with you. It is the basis of our brotherhood which God bestowed upon us to keep us close to each other.
- 13) Do we fear our enemies after we have sought shelter in the dignity of true Muslims, and do we feel degraded after seeking shelter with those who have embraced the true faith?
- 14) Is there any helper of strong faith to protect those who sought protection, and to support those who sought support?

(1) The author resorts to a pun in this verse on the term thaghr, which refers to frontiers or ports as well as denoting the mouth.

- 15) Is there any one to live up to the promise of God by helping us, for God would never break his promise?
- 16) Is there any one ready to sell his life to God, by helping us, for there is no more worthy buyer than God or one who fulfils his promises better.
- 17) Do you perhaps doubt God's promise after the truth has appeared? How could the morning light be unseen on the horizon?!
- 18) How would the infidels ravage our lands while there are innumerable and powerful tribes backing us?!
- 19) (These tribes') generosity is like the copious rain if they are asked for alms, and they are brave like lions on the battlefield.
- 20) When they deploy in squadrons they carry spears, and when they raid they carry sharpened swords.
- 21) Stand to defend the truth (of our religion), since the truth is threatend. Be prompt in the defence of the Faith since it is at the point of collapse.
- 22) Here we are, seeking shelter in the might of your country, and asking God for his mercy and victory."

The Moroccans themselves took part in urging each other to volunteer for what they used to call "jihād" in Granada. Many writers, poets and Khatībs were concerned about the Granadine Muslims. They therefore wrote a number of literary compositions in which they urged the Moroccan kings and people to defend their Muslim brethren in Granada. Abu al-Qāsim al-ʿAzafī, a famous Moroccan khatīb of the 7th/13th century, wrote a long letter in which he

urged the Moroccan people to volunteer for the jihād in Andalusia.⁽¹⁾ He wrote many copies of this letter and sent a copy to every tribe and every town. He wrote the letter in 663/1264 when Alfonso X was preparing to invade Granada. The letter is full of Quranic verses, hadīths of the Prophet, and saying of the caliphs and the early Muslim jurists concerning the obligatory duty of jihād for all Muslims, and the benefits of a struggle in the cause of God. Abu al-Qāsim al-ʿAzafī wrote another letter in 674/1275⁽²⁾ explaining the victory of Abū Yūsuf al-Marīnī in Ecija over the Castilian troops commanded by Don Nuño. In this letter, he again urges the Moroccan people to support the Granadine Muslims. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Malzūzī, one of Abū Yūsuf al-Marīnī's poets, wrote in 669/1270, imploring Abū Yūsuf to crush the rebellion of Yagumrāsan in Tlemcen and thus disengage himself for jihād in Andalusia. He described the Muslim situation in Andalusia, in the following verses:⁽³⁾

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1) وكان بها قبل المهيم يُذْكَرُ | لقد سَكَنَ الأعدا مساجدَ رُننا |
| 2) وبقا شُهُم فوق الصوامع تَزْمُرُ | فعادَت إلى الخنزير والشرك مسكنا |
| 3) وغزلان دَرَّ في الأقاصر تُقَصِّرُ | وكم غنموا منا حِساناً كواعبنا |
| 4) وكم أغيد أبلوا فكيف التصبُّرُ | وكم مقلّة أبكوا وكم غادّة سببوا |
| 5) فأكبادُهم من حالهم تتفطر | وكم أيتموا منا بنينا أصاغرأ |
| | ... الخ |

(1) See this letter in: Dhakhīra, pp. 113-123.
(2) See this letter in: Dhakhīra, pp. 175-181.
(3) See this poem in: Dhakhīra, pp. 143-145.

- 1) Enemies have been dwelling in the mosques of our God, while God's name was resounding in them before.
- 2) They (the mosques) have become the residence of swine. Polytheists have occupied them, and their trumpets are heard blown from the minarets.
- 3) How many of our pretty buxom girls, and veiled and bejewelled women like gazelles, they led into captivity!
- 4) How many eyes have they moved to tears! How many young women have they taken prisoner, and how many handsome boys have they made unhappy. So, how do you endure that?
- 5) How many of our young children have they orphaned; the hearts of their parents are broken with grief..."

Ibn al-Murāḥḥal, a famous Moroccan poet from Ceuta, wrote a poem in 662/1263 and recited it in the mosque of Fez after the Friday prayer.⁽¹⁾ The opening verse of this poem is:

استنصر الدين بكم فاستقدروا فإنكم ان تسلموه يسلموا

"The Faith has asked for your assistance;
rush to its help for if you ignore its
call nothing can save it from submission".

Ibn al-Murāḥḥal explains in this poem the grave situation of the Granadine Muslims and the urgent need for Muslim aid. As in all letters and poems appealing for help, Ibn al-Murāḥḥal talks about the honour of Muslim women taken into captivity. He talks also about Muslim children deprived of their parents, mosques converted into churches,

(1) Dhakhīra, pp. 109-111.

the enslavement and persecution imposed upon the Muslims, and about the obligatory duty of jihād and its benefits. It is reported that many people wept on hearing this poem, and that a Marīnid expedition into Andalusia was prompted by it.⁽¹⁾

Moreover, the Moroccan kings themselves sent letters to other Muslim countries appealing for help for Granada. One of the probable reasons for this was that the Marīnid kings were aware that the fall of Granada would threaten the Moroccan coastal cities, which provided the Moroccan and Granadine armies with military supplies. After their defeat in Tarifa in 741/1340, the Moroccans failed to give any effective help to Granada, which made the Marīnid kings seek the help of other Muslim countries, especially Egypt.⁽²⁾ In 745/1344 king Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī of Morocco sent a letter to Ismāʿīl Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qalawūn, the Egyptian sultan, informing him of the situation in Andalusia and of the wars he had waged to defend the Granadine Muslims against the Spaniards' attacks. He also spoke about the need for Muslim aid for Granada after the spread of the news that the Pope had ordered all Christians to prepare for the uprooting of

(1) Dhakhīra, pp. 104 & 111.

(2) For examples of these appeals see: Subh, vol. 8, pp. 87-99; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 386; Istiqṣāʾ, vol. 3, pp. 140-147.

Islam from Andalusia.⁽¹⁾ Ismā'īl Ibn Qalawūn sent a reply to Abu al-Ḥasan in which he expressed his appreciation of Moroccan aid to Granada, and apologized for his inability to offer any help to Granada other than his prayers.⁽²⁾ Ibn Qalawūn used as a pretext for this refusal of help the great distance between Egypt and Granada. But he exaggerated the description of what his troops could achieve if they were able to reach Granada.*

It is clear that the appeals written by Moroccan writers were not different from those written by the Granadines in content, style, structure, and in the religious and humane aspects used as the bases of these appeals.

(1) See: Nafh, vol. 4, p. 386; Istiqsā', vol. 3, p. 140.

(2) See the reply in: Nafh, vol. 4, p. 394; Istiqsā', vol. 3, p. 147.

(*) The reply of Ibn Qalawūn was written by his secretary Salāh al-Dīn al-Safadī. In the last paragraph of this reply Ibn Qalawūn apologizes for his inability to help Granada saying:

”... ولكنَّ الحروبَ سجال ، وكلُّ زمانٍ لدوائه دولة ولرجائه رجال ، ولو
أمكنت المساعدة لطارت بنا اليكم عقبانُ الجيادِ المسومة ، وسالتُ على
عدوكم أباطحهم بقسنا المعوجة ، وسهامنا المقومة ، وكحلنا عيونَ النجوم
بمراودِ الرماح ، وجعلنا ليلَ العجاج ممزقا ببروقِ الصِّفاح ، واتخذنا
رؤوسهم لصوالج القوائم كُرَات ، وفرَّجنا مضايق الحرب بتوالي الكُرَات ،
وعطفنا اليهم الأعتة ، وخَضنا جداولَ السيوف ودُسنا شوكَ الأسنة ،
وفلقنا الصخراتِ بالصرخات ، وأسلنا العبراتِ بالربعات . ولكن أيا
الغاية من هذا المدى المتناول ! وإين الثريا من يد المتناول ! وما لنا
غير امدادِكم بجنودِ الدعاء الذي نرفعه نحن ورعايانا ...”

The question may arise as to whether the appeals for Moroccan aid were effective or not. The success of these appeals was mostly dependent on three political factors. The stability of the political situation in Morocco, the recognition by the Marīnid kings of the increasing Spanish threat to the Muslim presence in Andalusia, and the extent of the preoccupation of the Spanish states with their internal dissensions and problems. A fourth factor of equal importance, one would presume, was the elegance of the literary style in which the appeals were couched, and their continuity.

There is evidence of Moroccan involvement in battles against the Spaniards after the receipt of Granadine pleas.⁽¹⁾ The main proof of this lies in the replies of the Moroccan kings to Granadine appeals for help. In many of these replies, the Moroccan kings pledged to help Granada to the very maximum of their ability. In 673/1274 Muḥammad II of Granada sent a letter to Abū Yūsuf al-Marīnī seeking his urgent support for the Granadine people.⁽²⁾ In this letter Muḥammad II wrote:

(1) For examples see: Bada'i', vol. 2, pp. 595 & 596; Dhakhīra, pp. 159-163; Nathīr Farā'id, p. 303; Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 19-20; Diwān Lisān, pp. 283-291 & 543; Nufada, pp. 221, 240, 245, 249 & 243; 'Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 690-691; Nafn, vol. 5, pp. 98-99; Istiqṣā', vol. 3, pp. 192-195 & 199.

(2) See this letter in: Dhakhīra, pp. 159-163.

”... فقد تطاولَ العدوُّ النصرانيُّ على الاسلام، واحتَضَمَ جنابه كُلَّ الاهتِضام، وقد استخلَصَ قواعدها، ومزق بلدانها وقتل رجالها، وسبى ذراريتها ونساءها، وغنم أموالها، وقد جاءنا بإبراقه وإرعاده، وعدده وإيعاده، وطلب منا أن نسلّم له ما بقي بأيدينا من المنابر والصوامع، والمحاريب والجوامع، ليقم بها الصلبان، ويثبت به الأقسّة والرهبان، وقد وطأ الله لك ملكاً عظيماً... فابعثْ باعثْ بعثك الى نصر مناره... فإن شئت الدنيا فالأندلسُ قطوفها دانية وجناتها عالية، وإن شئت الآخرة فيها جهادٌ لا يفتر...”.

”... The Christian enemy has been distressing Islam by ravaging its lands, seizing its cities, devastating its towns, killing its men, taking captive its children and women and looting its property. He came in power and great numbers, threatening us and demanding that we submit to him what we still hold of minbars, minarets, mihrabs and mosques. He wants to raise the Cross in the mosques, and to install priests and monks in them. As God has helped you to establish a great dominion,... do send your army to defend the light of God... If you seek earthly joys there are in Andalusia easy pleasures (lit: Fruits) and extensive gardens, and if you seek the benefits of the hereafter there is (in Andalusia) an endless opportunity for jihād..”.

On his reception of this letter and many similar ones, Abū Yūsuf sent a reply to Muḥammad II expressing his deep concern and sadness over the misfortune of the Andalusian Muslims.⁽¹⁾ He said in his reply that he had started to prepare his army for the struggle in Andalusia, and that he was planning to travel there at the head of his army in the spring of 674/1275. He also asked Muḥammad II to get his army ready to join the

(1) Ibid, p. 162.

Moroccans on their arrival.

”... ونحنُ قادمون عليكم في إثر هذا إن شاء الله، ووعدنا بوفاء يعين الله على أعدائه، ونغدو عليكم بأنصار الدين وأودائه... عند انصرام شهر المحرم سنة ٦٧٤ نجوز اليكم وذلك أو أن ظهور الثبات، واهتزاز الأرض بالخيرات، فأعدوا للقاء كما نعد، واستعدوا على القتال وتوكل على الله حيثما تستعدون...”

One of the most successful embassies to Morocco seeking aid was headed by Ibn al-Khaṭīb after the accession of King Muḥammad V of Granada in 755/1354.⁽¹⁾ On his arrival in Fez, Ibn al-Khaṭīb recited some poems before Abū ‘Inān, the Moroccan king. He started one of these poems with the verse:

خليفة الله ساعد القدرُ علاك ما لاح في الدجا قمرُ

"Legate of God, may the fates bless and support
your eminence, as long as the moon's
placid rays dispel night's darkness.." (2)

Abū ‘Inān, it is reported, was so affected at hearing these poems and by the elegant style of Ibn al-Khaṭīb that he swore that Ibn al-Khaṭīb should be granted all his requests.

Moroccan military assistance to Granada produced a certain set type of letter and poem in which Granadine writers acknowledged and described Moroccan help.⁽³⁾ Literary

(1) See reports of this embassy in: *Ihāṭa*, vol. 2, pp. 19-20; *Diwān Lisān*, p. 543; *‘Ibar*, vol. 7, pp. 690-691; *Nafh*, vol. 5, pp. 98-99; *Istiqsā’*, vol. 3, pp. 192-195; Adler, p. 36.

(2) Tr. by Adler, p. 36.

(3) For examples see: *Dhakhīra*, p. 166; *Diwān Lisān*, pp. 388 & 533; *Kunāsa*, pp. 57-62, 116, 119, 127 & 150.

compositions dealing with this subject are all of a similar content, style and order. They are also marked by the set repetition of certain words, phrases and ideas. The writers of letters of acknowledgement give an exact description of the horses, arms and money sent by the Moroccan kings to Granada. They speak in detail about the size and effect of these gifts in battle. The writers used also to describe reactions to the arrival of aid, both among the Granadines and the Spaniards by saying that the former were delighted, while the latter were shocked by the arrival of assistance in any form.

* * *

III-Appeals to Tunisia and Tlemcen

The greater part of military aid to Granada came from Morocco, and most Granadine appeals for help were sent to Morocco, as it was the nearest strong Muslim country to Granada. Tunisia and Tlemcen came next, both with respect to the number of Granadine appeals sent to them, and the size or extent of their help.

Tunisian help to Granada came before the final stages of the establishment of Marīnid rule in Morocco, and after its decline in the 9th/15th century. This help was limited on the whole to gifts of horses, swords, money, gold, slaves

and gunpowder.⁽¹⁾ Granadine writers produced a number of letters and poems describing these Tunisian gifts,⁽²⁾ and discussing their importance, and the fears of the Granadine Muslims for their country's destiny. They also appealed in their letters for more help.⁽³⁾

There are also a number of letters and poems sent by Granadine writers to the Zayyānid rulers of Tlemcen, seeking their help for Granada, and acknowledging previous assistance. But the help sent from Tlemcen remained on the whole limited like the help from Tunisia.⁽⁴⁾

In 767/1365 the Pope prevailed on Christian countries to get ready for the invasion of Granada. Many appeals for help were subsequently sent by the Granadine people to several Islamic countries. Among the embassies despatched to Islamic countries was one led by Abu al-Barakāt Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Balafīqī⁽⁵⁾ and Ibn al-Khaṭīb to the court of Abū Hammū Mūsā Ibn Yaḥyāmrāsān, king of Tlemcen.⁽⁶⁾ Abū

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- (1) For the gunpowder shipments from Tunisia to Granada see: La Tuhfa autobiografia y polemica Islamica by 'Abdollah al-Tarḡumān, Rome, 1971, p. 251. This book is known also as: Tuhfat al-Arīb fi al-Radd 'Alā Ahl al-Ṣalīb.
- (2) See: Lamha, p. 65, 66; Remiro, 318; Ta'rif, pp. 909-1019; Nathīr Farā'id, pp. 256-288.
- (3) See: Remiro, p. 343, 385; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 333.
- (4) For examples see: Diwān Lisan, p. 542; Remiro, p. 196; Bughyat al-Ruwwad, vol. 2, pp. 166-181; Subh, vol. 7, p. 45; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 507; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 254, 260.
- (5) See the article by S. Gibert "Abū 'l-Barakāt al-Balafīqī, qādī, historiador y poeta" Al-Andalus, vol. XXVIII, 1963, pp. 381-424.
- (6) See Bughyat al-Ruwwad, vol. 2, pp. 166-181.

al-Barakāt al-Ballafīqī recited a poem before King Abū Ḥammū starting with the verse:

هل من مجيب دعوة المستجير
أم من مجير للغريب المفرد؟
"Is there any one to hear the caller's
cry for help, nay, Is there any one to
protect the lonely stranger?⁽¹⁾".

This poem appears to follow the same poetical metre, rhyme, content, and even phrasing of the aforementioned poetical letters exchanged by King Abū Yūsuf al-Marīnī and Muḥammad II.⁽¹⁾ Such imitation proves that these poems were well-known in Granada, and that the Granadine people had a great admiration for them, although they were written about a century before al-Ballafīqī's time.

The first eight verses of al-Ballafīqī's poem start with the compound interrogative particle hal min (i.e. Is there any one...). This particle, when repeated, as in this poem, seems to have been adopted as the appropriate formula to express a suppliant's need for urgent relief. After the opening verse, Abu al-Barakāt says:

هل من ولي ناصر دين الهدى	أو ذي حمى يحمي حنيفة أحمد؟
هل من معين أو كريم يرتجى	أو مسعدي أو مرشدي أو منجبر؟
هل من جواد في الزمان مؤمل	أو آخذ عند الشدائد باليد؟
هل راحم لعصابة مقطوعة	ما بين أعداء وبحر مزبد؟
هل ناضر فيهم بنظرة رحمة	يرجو بها نيل الشفاعة في غد؟
هل واصل لذما هم أو سامع	لصريخهم في نصر دين محمّد؟
هل من طيب ماهر متدارك	رمق الجزيرة قبل حتف مجهد؟
تالله ان لم يأتها فرج ترى	فيه لطائف صنع فأن قسدا
....	

(1) See pp. 229-243 above.

"Is there any protector of the true religion, or any one zealous to defend the religion of Aḥmad (i.e: Muḥammad)?.

Is there a helper, or a generous one to bring about happiness and to act as a guide or saviour?!

Is there an openhanded one to fulfil our hopes these days, or any one to stand by another in misfortune?

Is there any one who has compassion for this isolated small land, situated between the enemy and the foaming sea?

Is there any one to look at its people with solicitude hoping thereby to win God's favour on the last day?

Is there any one to abide by established ties with them? Is there anyone hearkening to their cries for the protection of the religion of Muḥammad?

Is there a skillful physician to save the last breath of the Peninsula before it faces a painful death?

By God, if it is not soon relieved, both by your aid any by God's help, it will not survive any longer in our hands."

Al-Ballafīqī then begins lamenting the reverses of Islam in Andalusia with delicate verses seemingly influenced by previous similar laments. He then goes on to explain the reasons for his appeal, saying that the Christians had taken advantage of the dissension among the Muslims, summoned a huge army and marched against Granada:

وسطت على توحيد كل موحد
نار الخلاف مشارة لم تخمد
واستكثرت من كل باغ مفسد
غص الفضاء بكل طاع مغتد
بعظيم جيش مثله لم يغمد

هذا الصليب تكالبت عباده
وتناولت أعناقها لمارات
واستفرت أشياعها وجموعها
واستقبلت أرجاء اندلس وقد
مستظهرين على البلاد وأهلها

....

He then appeals for the help of Tlemcen, saying that the Andalusian Muslims, even their learned men, had lost hope of any relief:

لَا كُنْهَا ضَاقَتْ صُدُورُ أَوْلِيَ النُّهَى لِمَصَابِيهَا مِنْ تَرْحَةٍ وَتَوَجُّدٍ

He adds that the Andalusian Muslims had been suffering for a long time, and that they had resisted their enemies morning and evening despite their serious fears for their country's destiny:

إِنَّا بَأْنَدَلَسٍ نَعَالِجُ مُعْضِرًا مِنْ دَاءٍ ذَا الْخَطْبِ الْمُقِيمِ الْمُقْعِدِ
نُمْسِي وَنُصْبِحُ فِي مَقَارَعَةِ الْعِدَى وَنُرُوحُ فِي رَيْبِ الزَّمَانِ وَنُغْتَدِي

It seems that the close political relations between Granada and Morocco during the first half of the 8th/14th century had badly affected relations between Granada and Tlemcen, as Zayyānid rule in Tlemcen was in conflict with Marīnid rule in Fez. In this poem al-Ballāfiqī blames the king of Tlemcen for the breakdown of relations with Granada. He tells Abū Hammū that the kings of Tlemcen had, in the past, supplied Granada with help of different kinds, such as money, horses and arms. Al-Ballāfiqī then suggests that the king of Tlemcen could establish new relations with Granada by supplying its people with arms, or with prayers to God to help the Granadine people. He adds that if the king of Tlemcen disappointed them they would have to endure the misfortunes of the time and defend Islam in Granada to the very best of

their ability:

صُنْعاً جَمِيلَ الْقَصْدِ عَذَبَ الْمَوَدِّ
لَكُمْ عَلَى هَذِي الْجَزِيرَةِ مِنْ يَدِ
بِالسُّفْهِرِيَّةِ وَالْقَنَا الْمُتَقَصِّدِ
مَا بَيْنَنَا مِنْ عَهْدِنَا الْمُتَاكِدِ
نَبَذَ الْإِخَاءُ يَكُونُ غَيْرُ مُقَصِّدِ
فِي صِدْقٍ وَدَّكُمْ وَحُسْنِ الْمُقَصِّدِ
مَنْ يَنْتَمِي لَكُمْ بِصِدْقٍ تَوَدِّدِ
نَعْمَ الْبَلَاغُ حَقِيقَةً لِمَزُودِ
أَمْثَالِكُمْ فِي غَيْبَةِ أَوْ مَشْهُدِ
وَيْدَا لَنَا مِنْ ذَاكَ مَا لَمْ نَعْهَدِ
بِتَجَلُّدِ الْأَحْرَارِ أَيْ تَجَلُّدِ

وَلَطَالَمَا عَوَّدْتُمُونَا مِنْكُمْ
طَوْرًا بِإِمْدَادٍ وَإِرْفَادٍ فَكَمْ
أَوْ تَارَةً بِإِعَانَةٍ مِنْكُمْ لَنَا
وَالآنَ قَدْ قَطَعَ الزَّمَانُ بِجُورِهِ
اسْلَمْتُمُونَا لِلْعِدَاةِ كَأَنَّ مَن
حَاشَا وَكَلَّا أَنْ تَخِيبَ ظَنُونُنَا
وَلْتَقَبَلُوا بِوَجْهِ لِحْظِكُمْ عَلَيَّ
وَتَزُودُوا بِالْإِعْدَاءِ فَإِنِّي نَسِيتُ
هَذَا أَقْلَ حَقُوقِ إِخْوَانِ الصَّفَا
وَلَسْتُ نَسِيْتُ عَهْدَنَا وَذِمَامَنَا
فَلْنَصْبِرَنَّ عَلَى الزَّمَانِ وَرَيْبِهِ

He finally asks God to help the Granadine Muslims and to preserve Islam. After listening to this poem, Abū Hammū was apparently handed Muḥammad V's letter written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.⁽¹⁾ In this letter King Muḥammad V complains about the continuous Spanish threat to the Granadine Muslims, and about the Papal enterprise of invading Granada. After this complaint the king of Granada hints at the responsibility of every Muslim country to help in the defence of Granada saying:

”وَلَا مَفْزَعَ بَعْدَ اللَّهِ لِهَذِهِ الْأُمَّةِ فِي الشَّدَائِدِ إِلَّا إِلَى الْمُسْلِمِينَ إِخْوَانِهِمْ فِي السُّبُحِ
وَرُضَائِهِمْ ثَدْيَ كَلِمَةِ التَّوْحِيدِ وَشُرَكَائِهِمْ فِي إِثْرِ ادْعَاةِ الْمُحَمَّدِيَّةِ”

Religious brotherhood was not the only factor on

(1) Bughyat al-Ruwwād, pp. 170-174.

which Ibn al-Khaṭīb depended to urge Abū Ḥammū to action; he also referred to the rights of neighbourliness. He used a clever means of persuasion by exploiting the nature of the relations between Morocco and Tlemcen. He tells the king of Tlemcen that Granadine appeals for Marīnid help were positively responded to, and that the Marīnid kings of Morocco had hastened to aid Granada generously, a matter which had pleased the Granadine people. He then addresses the king of Tlemcen saying:

"... وَمَثَلُكُمْ مَنْ يَتَنَافَسُ فِي الْخَيْرِ وَيُسَاجِلُ فِي الْبِرِّ وَيَرْغَبُ فِي بَقَاءِ الذِّكْرِ..."

"The like of you hasten to do good works,
and try to outdo others in munificent
deeds, and hope to immortalize their(good)
name..."

It is reported that after this embassy, the king of Tlemcen expressed deep concern over the condition of the Muslims in Granada, and that he ordered shipments of food, horses, gold and silver to be sent there speedily.⁽¹⁾ Upon the arrival of this gift in Granada King Muḥammad V wrote a letter of acknowledgement to Abū Ḥammū.⁽²⁾

* * *

IV-Appeals to Other Muslim Countries

(Egypt, Mecca and Medina)

Egypt, though far from Granada, was not overlooked by the Granadines in their appeals for help. Many

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid, vol. 2, pp. 174-181.

supplicatory letters and embassies were despatched from Granada to Egypt.⁽¹⁾ The letter of Muḥammad V of Granada to Aḥmad Ibn Qalawūn, king of Egypt, is a document of great historical importance, because it provides a good picture of the social, economic and political situation in Granada in the middle of the 8th/14th century.⁽²⁾

Speaking of the political situation, Muḥammad V says that the Christians had seized all Muslim cities in Andalusia except Granada. He adds that the Naṣrid family had succeeded in holding the state of Granada and achieving many victories over the Spaniards. He then talks about relations between Granada and Egypt, saying that the Naṣrid kings used to inform the Egyptian rulers about any developments in Granada:

”... وقد أوفدَ جُندنا - رضي الله عنه - على أبواب سَلَفِكُمْ من وقائعِهِ في العدوِّ وكلِّ مُبَشِّرَةٍ...”

He explains the reasons for his letter, hinting at the Muslim countries responsibility for the defence of Islam in Granada, by saying that Muslims are one nation with one aim, which is to serve God:

” فَإِنَّ ذِمَامَ الْإِسْلَامِ مَوْصُولٌ ، وفروعه تَجْمَعُهَا فِي اللَّهِ أَصُولٌ ... وَالْمِلَّةُ - وَالْمَنْشَقَةُ لِلَّهِ - وَاحِدَةٌ ... وَالْأَمَانُ إِلَى مَا يُوصِلُ إِلَى اللَّهِ مَصْرُوفَةٌ ... ”

Muḥammad V ends his letter to Ibn Qalawūn by seeking his aid:

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- (1) See: Remiro, p. 552; "Safāra," p. 103; Subh, vol. 7, p. 16 & vol. 8, p. 107; Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 321-326. vol. 5, p. 90 & vol. 6, p. 271.
- (2) Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 321-326.

” فإذا لم يكن الاستدعاء أمكن الدعاء ، والكُلُّ على الله عالة ، والدين غريب ،
والغريب يحن إلى أهله ، والمرء كثير بأخيه على بُعد محله”

In his letter to Sha‘bān Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Qalawūn of Egypt, King Muḥammad V expresses his joy at the failure of the French attempt to seize Alexandria in 767/1365.⁽¹⁾ He says that the Christians had intended to invade Jerusalem and Syria by this attack and to block the way of the hajj. Muḥammad V uses this event as a basis for his complaint about the situation surrounding Granada. He says that Granada was distressed by the same enemy as had attempted to harass the Egyptians. He adds that Granada was isolated between numerous hostile enemies and a turbulent sea, and that all the Muslims in Granada, men, women and children, were at the mercy of those enemies:

” . . . والحال ما علمتم : بحرٌ زاخرٌ الأمواج وعدوٌ وافرٌ الأفواج ، وحرمٌ — لولا اتقاء
الله — مُقتحمٌ السّياج ، وجيادٌ ضمّرتها مصابرةُ الهياج ، وداءٌ على الأيام مُتوقّعُ
الاهتياج”

As in many appeals for help from Islamic countries, king Muḥammad V refers to Muslim unity, saying that Muslims are like one body which collapses when disease strikes any part of it:

” . . . فَإِنَّ الْإِسْلَامَ كَالْجَسَدِ يَتَدَاعَى كُلُّهُ لَتَأْلَمَ بَعْضُهُ ، وَيَتَسَاهَمُ إِخْوَانُهُ فِي بَسْطِهِ
وَقَبْضِهِ ، وَسَمَائِهِ مَرْتَبُطَةٌ بِأَرْضِهِ ، وَنَفْلُهُ مُتَعَلِّقٌ بِفَرْضِهِ”

(1) See: Subh, vol. 8, pp. 107-115.

He comments further on the Alexandrian incident, saying that the Granadine Muslims were very pleased at its result, and likening their pleasure to "the pleasure of the left hand at the safety of the right hand, the pleasure of the face at the safety of its forehead and the satisfaction of the Muslim at the safety of his religion"

"وكَيْفَ لَا يُسَرُّ الْيَسَارُ بِيَمِينِهِ وَالْوَجْهُ بِجَبِينِهِ وَالْمُسْلِمُ بِدِينِهِ؟!"

He adds that the incident at Alexandria would have made the Muslim people realize the kind of prolonged suffering undergone by the isolated Muslims in Granada, who had been attacked by the worshippers of idols by land and sea.

"ومما زادنا بَجْحًا بهذا الفتح وسرورًا زائدًا بهذا المَنَح ما تحَقَّقْنَا أَنَّهُ يَشِيرُ مِنْ شَفَقَةٍ الْمُسْلِمِينَ لِهَذَا الْقَطْرِ الَّذِي لَا يَزَالُ يَطْرُقُهُ مَا طَرَقَ الْإِسْكَندَرِيَّةَ عَلَى مَرِّ الْأَيَّامِ، وَتُجْلِبُ عَلَيْهِ بَرًّا وَبَحْرًا عَبْدَةُ الْأَصْنَامِ...".

In 844/1440 King Muḥammad al-Aysar of Granada sent a letter to the Egyptian king seeking his assistance for Granada.⁽¹⁾ The letter was handed to the secretary of the Egyptian court. After reading it, the secretary addressed the Egyptian king, saying:

"يا مولانا - نصركم الله - هذا كتابٌ من صاحب جزيرة الأندلس يشتكي لك ما أصابه من الأفرنج المجاورين له ويطلب منك نجدةً تعينه بها..."

"My lord, may God give you triumph; this is a message from the sovereign of the peninsula of Andalusia complaining to you about the threats he endures from his neighbours the Franks, and asking you to aid him"

(1) See the story of this embassy in: "Safāra," pp. 103 & 104.

The king addressed the messengers saying:

"أَنْ بِلَادِكُمْ بَعِيدَةٌ، وَلَا يُمْكِنُنَا أَنْ نَجْهِّزَ لَكُمْ عَسْكَرًا"

"Your country is far away and we cannot send an army to it".

The messengers said:

"يَا مَوْلَانَا السُّلْطَانُ، إِذَا لَمْ يُمْكِنَكَ تَجْهِيْزُ الْعَسْكَرِ الْيَنَّا فَلْتُعِثَّنَا بِالْمَالِ وَالْعُدَّةِ"

"Our lord Sultan, if you cannot send an army, would you help us with money and arms?".

The king said:

"نَعْمُ أُعِينُكُمْ إِنْ شَاءَ اللَّهُ بِالْمَالِ وَالْعُدَّةِ"

"Well, God willing, I will help you with money and arms"

A messenger then recited a muwashshah in praise of the Egyptian king, with the following opening couplets:

يَا رَوْضَةَ الْعِلْمِ وَالصَّلَاحِ	يَكُلُّ عَنْ شُكْرِكَ اللِّسَانُ
تُنْبِيءُ عَنْ مَجْدِكَ الصُّرَاحُ	وَعَرَّأَوْصَافُكَ الْحِسَانُ

After a number of intervening strophes the writer of this muwashshah urges the Egyptian king to defend Islam in Andalusia, saying:

1) تَعْنُو لِسُلْطَانِهِ الْمُلُوكُ	أَيْدِكَ اللَّهُ مِنْ إِمَامٍ
2) وَنُخْرَةَ الدِّينِ نَسْلُوكُ	نَدْعُوكَ يَا نُخْبَةَ الْكِرَامِ
3) وَحَرَمَةَ الدِّينِ وَالسُّلُوكُ	بِحَرَمَةِ * الْكَعْبَةِ الْحَرَامِ
4) تُعِزُّ بِهَ عَصْبَةَ الْكِفَاحِ	فَخُصَّنَا مِنْكَ يَا مَتَنَانُ
5) بِمَا تُرْجِي مِنَ النِّجَاحِ	أُمْتَعَدَ اللَّهُ فِي الْجَنَانِ

* * *

(*) In the original: بخدمة i.e (By the service of)

- | | | |
|-----|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 6) | السَّيِّدُ الْفَاضِلُ الْخَطِيرُ | يَا أَيُّهَا الظَّاهِرُ الْمُؤَيَّدُ |
| 7) | تَمَسَّكَ الْخَائِفُ الْفَقِيرُ | بِعِزِّ سُلْطَانِكَ الْمَخْلُودُ |
| 8) | مَا فَرَّقَ الْحَادِثُ الْعَسِيرُ | قَلَمَ مِنْ حَالِنَا الْمُبَدَّدُ |
| 9) | عَلَى ذَوِي الْكُفْرِ وَالْجُنَاحِ | وَكُنْ لَنَا خَيْرَ مَنْ أَعَانُ |
| 10) | مَعَالِمَ الدِّينِ وَالصَّلَاحِ | فَأَنْتَ بِالْحَقِّ مِنْ أَبَانَ** |

- "1) O iman whom kings obey, may God support you!¹
- 2) We ask you, o most distinguished of generous people, and we appeal to you for the defence of Islam.
- 3) We ask you by the sanctity of the holy Ka'ba, the Faith, and by your piety.
- 4) Would you grant us that which would help the struggling party?
- 5) May God grant you Paradise for your efforts.
- 6) O you Zāhir and Mu'ayyad, notable and respected lord!¹
- 7) Under the aegis of your eternal rule the fearful poor took shelter.
- 8) Would you help us in repairing our position, which has been impaired by calamities?¹
- 9) Would you be our best support against the sinful infidels?¹
- 10) You are, in fact, one who has proved your piety, faith and goodness."

* * *

Granadine letters and embassies were sent also to Mecca and Medina, not only to gain the sympathy of the Muslim people in Arabia and to secure financial support,

(1) In the original: فَأَنْتَ بِالْحَقِّ خَيْرٌ مِنْ أَبَانَ which impairs the metre.

but also to spread the news among pilgrims of the Granadines' need for volunteers.⁽¹⁾

* * *

V

Appeals to The Prophet, God and The Holy Men

The weakness of Granada and its need for a saviour enriched and helped to develop religious literature in the state. Many letters and poems were written addressed to God, pleading for His help. Many were addressed to the Prophet Muḥammad, seeking his mediation with God to help the Granadine Muslims. Some of these poems, muwashshahs, and letters were addressed to the tombs of holy men, (أولياء الله), asking them to mediate with God to ease the calamities and disasters afflicting the Granadines.

The repeated resort to this type of literature in Granada during the Nasrid era can be traced to a number of factors. Among these was the spread of mystic movements on an extensive scale, the exaggerated ceremonies celebrating the Prophet's birthday, and political and social decline which were accompanied by fear for the future of the state.⁽²⁾ Religious literature^(*) in Granada

(1) For examples see: Remiro, p. 264; Subh, vol. 7, pp. 47 & 53.

(2) Many poets devoted their poetry or a great part of it to religious subjects. Among them were al-Sāḥilī, Ibn Jābir, Ibn ʿAbbad al-Nafzī, Ibn Khātima, and many others (see: Diwān Ibn Jābir MS; Diwān Ibn Khātima, pp. 1-42; Katība, p. 40-).

(*) See note 2, p. 391 below.

was, like all literary compositions, influenced by the political and martial events and developments in the country, because the Granadine people considered their struggle, whether political or military, to be a means of defending their Faith. This association between religion and political life influenced the way in which appeals for help were generally made. But many literary compositions appealing for help were directed to God, His Prophet and the "holy men". Ibn al-Khatīb, for example, wrote a letter addressed to the tomb of the Prophet on behalf of King Yūsuf I.⁽¹⁾ This letter consists of two parts: poetry and prose. The opening verse of the poetry runs as follows:

إذا فاتني ظلّ الحمى ونعيمه فحسب فؤادي أن يهب نسيمه

In this poem Yūsuf I expresses his desire to visit the tomb of the Prophet, but he then apologizes for being unable to perform the pilgrimage because he was fully preoccupied by the continuous threat of the enemy:

وعذري في تسويف عزمي ظاهر إذا ضاق عذر العزم عن يلومه
عدتني بأقصى الغرب عن تترك العدا جلا لقة الشغل الغريب ورومه
أجاهد منهم في سبيلك أمة هي البحر يعي أمرها من يرومه

He then goes on to appeal for the help of the Prophet saying:

فلولا اعتناء منك يا ملجأ السورى لريح جماء واستببح حريمه
فلا تقطع الحبل الذي قد وصلت به فمجدك موفور النوال عميه
وأنت لنا الغيث الذي نستدبره وانت لنا الظل الذي نستديمه
فلا تنسني يا خير من وطئ الشرى فمثلك لا ينسى لدينه خديمه

(1) See this letter in: Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 354-360.

"Were it not that you took care of us,
o shelter of people, his country would
have been terrorised and its women
would have been seized.
Do not stop the help you've started,
since your favours are generous and
extensive.
You are to us the abundant rain that
we seek, and you are the shade that we
wish would remain forever.
Do not forget me, o most noble one who
ever walked on the face of the earth;
your slave would not be neglected by
you."

In the prose part of this letter, King Yūsuf I praises the Prophet and describes to him the grave condition of the Granadine people and their struggle against the Spaniards. He complains about Granada being isolated between merciless enemies and a stormy sea. He also complains about the small number of Granadine Muslims in comparison with the great number of Spaniards. He says:

".....وَأَنِّي لَمَّا عَاقَتْنِي عَنْ زِيَارَتِكَ الْعَوَاقِقُ، وَإِنْ كَانَ شَغْلِي عَنْكَ بِكَ، وَعَدَّتْنِي
الْأَعْدَاءُ فِيكَ عَنْ وَصْلِ سَبَبِي بِسَبَبِكَ، وَأَصْبَحْتُ بَيْنَ بَحْرٍ تَتَلَاظِمُ أَمْوَاجُهُ وَعَدْوٍ
تَتَكَاثَفُ أَفْوَاجُهُ، وَيَحْجُبُ الشَّمْسُ عِنْدَ الظَّهِيرَةِ عَجَاجُهُ، فِي طَائِفَةٍ مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
بِكَ وَطَنُوا عَلَى الصَّبْرِ نَفُوسَهُمْ، وَيَقَارِعُونَ وَهُمْ الْفَتَّةُ الْقَلِيلَةُ جَفْوَةً كَجَمْعٍ
قَيْصَرٍ وَكَسْرٍ، لَا يَبْلُغُونَ مِنْ عَدُوِّهِ الْذَّرُّ عِنْدَ انْتِشَارِهِ عَشْرَ مِئْثَارِهِ، فَيَا
لَهُ مِنْ سِرْبٍ مَرْوَعٍ، وَصَرِيخٍ إِلَّا مِنْكَ مَسْمُوعٍ، وَدَعَاءٍ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَالْيَكِّ مَرْفُوعٍ، وَصَبِيحَةٍ
حُمْرِ الْحَوَاصِلِ، تَخْفِقُ فَوْقَ أَوْكَارِهَا أَجْنَحَةُ الْمَنَاصِلِ، وَالصَّلِيبُ قَدْ تَعَطَّى
فَمَدَّ ذِرَاعِيهِ....."

After this presentation of his grievances, Yūsuf I goes on to appeal for the Prophet's help to ease the calamities afflicting him and Granada saying:

"... يا غياث الأمة، وغمام الرحمة، ارحم غربتي وانقطاعي، وتغمد بطولك قصري
باعي، فلا تنسني ومن بهذه الجزيرة المفتحة بسيف كلمتك، على أيدي
خيار أمتك، فإنما نحن بها وديعة تحت بعض أقفالك، نعوذ بوجهك من
إغفالك، ونستشيق من ريح عنايتك نفحة، ونرتقب من محيا قبولك لمحة، نداء فتح
بها عدوا طغى وبغى، وبلغ من مضايقتنا ما ابتغى، فمواقف التحميص قد أعيت
من كتب وورخ، والبحر قد أصمت من استصرخ، والصاغة في العدوان مستبصر،
والعدو ملحق، والولي مقصر، وبجاهك ندفع ما لا نطيق، وبعنایتك نحالـج
سقيم الدين فيفيق، فلا تفرّدنا ولا تهملنا وناد ربك فينا..."

"O saviour of the nation and cloud of
mercy, have mercy upon me in my remote
isolation, and help build up my
weakness with your strength.... Do not
neglect me and the people of this
Peninsula which was conquered by the
sword of your religion and at the hands
of the elite of your nation. We are at
the mercy of your prayer. We take
shelter in God from your disregard of us.
We pray for the blessing of your care and
your good favour in order to deal with a
tyrannical enemy, who rides roughshod
and who has succeeded in distressing us.
Our defeats have become so numerous that
no historian or writer can keep pace with
them. The sea often prevents the arrival
of Muslim help to us, and the oppressor
continues his assaults. While the enemy
realizes his objectives, our friends
neglect us. By your blessings we would be
able to get rid of our unbearable misfortunes,
and through your care we would be able to
remedy the disorder afflicting our religion.
So, do not leave us alone, and do not delay
your relief; pray to God for us..".

Ibn al-Khatīb wrote another letter to the tomb of the Prophet,
but this time on behalf of King Muhammad V.⁽¹⁾ This letter is,

(1) See this letter in: Remiro, pp. 336-338; Dīwān Lisān,
pp. 320-325; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 505 & vol. 6, pp. 360 -
379.

in general, similar in content to the previous one.
It consists of both poetry and prose. The opening
verse of the poetical part is:

دَعَاكَ بِأَقْصَى الْمَغْرِبِينَ غَرِيبُ وَأَنْتَ عَلَى بُعْدِ الْمَزَارِ قَرِيبُ

"A stranger in the western part (of the
Muslim world) is calling you,
and despite the remoteness of your tomb
you are so close (to my heart)."

Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sharrān, who was still
alive in the year 837/1433, and who was chief of the
court writers in Granada, wrote a long ode in praise
of the Prophet and on the subject of the evanescence
and instability of all things in the course of time.⁽¹⁾
It is reported that many copies of this poem circulated
among the Granadine people.⁽²⁾ The poem starts with the
following verse:

دَوَامُ حَالٍ مِنْ قَضَايَا الْمَحَالِ وَاللِّطْفُ مُوجُودٌ عَلَى كُلِّ حَالٍ

"The permanence of any condition is something
impossible, yet God's grace is always there"

Al-Sharrān goes on to affirm the idea expressed in this
verse by giving examples from history. He also offers
wise advice which seems to emerge as a direct result of
the political situation in Granada, and he uses military
and political terminology and figures of speech. He then
goes on to praise the Prophet and to discuss his life
and miracles. In the last part of his poem al-Sharrān

(1) See this poem in: Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 134-143; Nayl,
p. 311.

(2) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 134.

appeals for the help of the Prophet to the Granadine people and their king, saying:

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1) اذا بهم ضاق انفساح المجال | يا ملجأ الخلق ومنجاههم |
| 2) ويا شفيحاً في الذنوب الثقال | يا من به نال المحب الرضا |
| 3) فلم تزل رحماك ذات انهمال | رحماك فينا يا نبي الهدى |
| 4) من لحظك الأحمى بعين ابتها | رحماك في أوطاننا راعها |
| 5) من نصرتك الأمضى بأرضي نكوال | رحماك في سلطاننا والبره |
| 6) أنساً فإن العهد بالأنس طال | رحماك في غربتنا كن لله |
| 7) منك بسرٍ فهي رهن اعتقال | رحماك في كرتنا حلها |
| 8) إنا على رفدك طراً عيال | رحماك في عيلتنا أغنها |
| 9) زكاة تكثير لجباه ومال | رحماك في قلتنا زكها |
| 10) وهل على راجيك غوثاً يصال | صالت علينا بالوفور العدا |
| 11) وما على ذاك الحمى يستطال | صالت بعدد واعتداد معا |
| 12) حاشا غياث الخلق مما يخال | خالت بآنا لا غياث لنا |
| 13) في غير أفياء غناك اختيال | وبالغنى اختالت وما إن لنا |
| 14) والورز الأحمى لدى ذي الجلال | فأنت للخلق ملاذ الورى |
| 15) أزكى صلاة قرنت باتصال | صلى عليك الله نور الهدى |

- 1) O shelter of mankind, and their means of safety when they are at their wits' end!
- 2) O you who alone can give the lover satisfaction. O intercessor with God for the forgiveness of great sins....!
- 3) Be merciful to us, o Prophet of the true path, since your mercy is still abundant.
- 4) Be merciful to us concerning our homelands; grant a prayer to God on their behalf.
- 5) Be merciful to our sultan; help him with your decisive and gracious support.
- 6) Be merciful to us in our isolation; be the close friend of our sultan; we have not had any friendly support for a long time now!

- 7) Be merciful to us in our misfortune,
and ease the constraint we suffer.
- 8) Be merciful to us concerning our
poverty, and replace it by plenty; we
all rely on your gifts.
- 9) Be merciful to us in our small
numbers; bless and increase our power
and property.
- 10) Enemies have been attacking us in
great numbers, but he who asks for
your support cannot be overwhelmed.
- 11) They attacked us with numbers and
self-confidence, but our country is
not one to be overcome.
- 12) They thought we had no protection
other than the protection of ordinary
people.
- 13) They are proud(of worldly) possessions
while we are proud of the wealth you
bestow upon us.
- 14) You are the shelter of all people and
you are our mediator with God.
- 15) May God bless you, o light of the
right path, with increasing and
continuing bliss."

It is clear that this poem, like most of the letters and poems appealing for help, is written in a simple and evocative style which depends mostly on the use of simple phrases and the repetition of certain formulae like "رحمان" (i.e: Be merciful).

It must be noted also that the Granadine writers and poets often address themselves directly to God for support in their verses and their prose writings. In reading their works one can often picture them physically raising their hands in supplication to heaven.⁽¹⁾

(1) See: Nafh, vol. 2, p. 704 & vol. 4, p. 550; Azhār, vol. 3, p. 308.

Al-ʿArabī al-ʿUqailī, the secretary of Boabdil, the last Muslim king in Granada, wrote the following few verses when the Spaniards laid siege finally to Granada: (1)

وَالنَّفِيرِ نَزَاعُ	بِالطَّبْلِ فِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ
وَذَاكَ إِلَّا الْقِرَاعُ	وَلَيْسَ مِنْ بَعْدِ هَذَا
مَنْ هَيْضَ مِنْهُ الذَّرَاعُ	يَا رَبِّ جَبْرُكَ يَرْجُو
بِهِ لِقَلْبِي أَدْرَاعُ	لَا تَسْلُبْنِي صَبْرًا

"Every day we get frightened by the drum beating and by the general alarm. And there is nothing after this and that except fighting. O God, the powerless ask for your help. Do not deprive me of patience, because it is the staying-power of my heart.

* * *

VI-Appeals within Granada

A- Appeals to The Granadine kings.

Another type of appeal for help is found in Granadine literature, in the various appeals made to rouse the people and the rulers of Granada to action. Granadine writers did not miss any opportunity of imploring the Granadine rulers and people to sacrifice everything possible for their country and religion.

(1) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 550; Azhār, vol. 3, p. 308.

In the year 739/1338 the Castilians were reported to have violated their peace with King Yūsuf I and to be preparing to march against Granada. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, being aware of that, recited a poem before King Yūsuf I imploring him to invade Castilian territory and put a stop to their threat.⁽¹⁾ In part of this poem Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:

كَمْ مِنْ دَلِيلٍ دُونَ ذَلِكَ قَامَ وَيَنْصُرُ مَلِكُكَ أَحْكَمَ الْأَحْكَامِ ! قَادُوا رِعَايَا نَحْوِهِ وَطَغَامَا اسْتَجِدُوا الصُّلْبَانَ وَالْأَصْنَامَا وَانْشُرْ عَلَى شُرَفَاتِهَا الْأَعْلَامَا فَلْذَاكَ مَا دُعِيَ الْحَسَامُ حَسَامَا	أَنْتَ الْمُؤَمِّلُ لِفَتْكَائِكَ بِلَادِهِمْ لَمْ لَا وَرَيْكَ قَدْ قَضَى لَكَ بِالْعَالَا فَإِذَا زَحَفَتْ بِحِزْبِ رَيْكَ غَالِبَا وَإِذَا اسْتَعْنَتْ اللَّهَ وَاسْتَجَدَّتْهُ فَافْتَحْ أَعَالِيهَا الْمَنِيْفَاتِ الذَّرَى وَاحْصِمْ بِسَيْفِكَ كُلَّ دَاءٍ كَامِنٍ
---	--

"You are our hope in recapturing their cities. Many signs of that have been manifested!

And why not, when God has decreed eminence for you and a victorious rule?¹ When you march with the party of God against our enemies, they lead a rabble of lowly people against you. And while you rely on God and seek His help they seek the help of crosses and idols.

(So march) to the conquest of their lofty cities, and hoist your flags over their battlements; put an end with your sword (ḥusām), to every latent disease, It is for this (i.e. the termination of all maladies) that a sword has been named a sword (ḥusām).

(1) See Dīwān Lisān, pp. 581-584.

(2) The "ما" in the last verse need not necessarily be the negative particle, but mere padding for which he could have substituted قد.

Granadine writers always found suitable pretexts in their descriptions of political activities or military preparations in Granada to urge their rulers to put Granadine power into action against the enemy.⁽¹⁾ Descriptions of army reviews, for example, provided such opportunities.⁽²⁾ Poetical inscriptions on swords, shields, spears, knives, bows and sheaths were mostly of a martial type, in which the writers urged the carriers of such weapons to use them against their Spanish enemies.⁽³⁾ Ibn al-Hājj al-Numairī, for example, wrote the following verses on a shield:⁽⁴⁾

ليوم جهادٍ مُطلع غيرة النصر تبالوا بقرع الزرق والبيض والسُمر ففي أسمى كما شاهدتم أحرف السِتر	أنا الترس قد أنشئت بالأمر عُدّة فلاقوا بي الأعداء في زحفهم ولا ولا تنكروا ستري لمقتل حاملي
--	--

"I am the shield, I have been made and prepared for a day of fighting (jihād) to assist in the achievement of victory. Thus, meet the enemies with me, when they march against you, and do not heed the striking of their swords and spears. Do not ignore the way I hide my bearer from death, since my name is composed of the letters implying sitr (i.e. hiding, guarding)⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) For examples see: Khatra, p. 38; Dīwān Lisān, p. 320, 561.
(2) See Nafh, vol. 6, p. 409 & vol. 7, pp. 210 & 295; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 74; Qarā'in, pp. 24, 25.
(3) For examples see Dīwān Lisān, pp. 408 & 512; Ihāṭa, vol. 2, p. 464; Nathir Farā'id, p. 318; Dīwān Yūsuf, p. 163; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 118.
(4) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 118.
(5) A play on words involving a rearrangement of the letters of the word turs.

Poems recited on different social and religious occasions in Granada seem also to have been deliberately linked with the Granadines' need for a saviour.⁽¹⁾ When Yūsuf I celebrated the birth of his son and successor Muḥammad V, Ibn al-Khaṭīb recited a poem before the king advising him to bring up his son as an inveterate fighter against the enemy and a defender of Islam.⁽²⁾ He says in the first three verses of his poem that the heir's birth was very good news, and that the whole world seemed overjoyed at it. Islam was delighted at the events, Ibn al-Khaṭīb says, because the new-born baby was expected to rise as a new Arabian sword drawn against the enemy:

حَيًّا بِهَا اللَّهُ حَيَّ النَّصْرُ فِي الْقَدَمِ يُثْنِي بِكُلِّ لِسَانٍ نَاطِقٍ وَفِيهِ سَيْفًا مِنَ الْعَرَبِ مَسْلُوكًا عَلَى الْعِجَمِ	يُشْرَى تَقُومُ لَهَا الدُّنْيَا عَلَى قَدَمِ وَأَصْبَحَ الدِّينُ جَذْلَانَا بِمَوْقِعِهِمَا وَاسْتَبَشَّرَتْ دَوْلَةُ الْإِسْلَامِ حَسِينَ رَأَتْ
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The poet then goes on to give advice to King Yūsuf on the ideal upbringing for the new-born. It is not surprising to find that he wishes the baby to become a valiant fāris of martial qualities, because this image reflects the Granadine heroic ideal, and represents the desired saviour of the Granadine people. Ibn al-Khaṭīb advises the king to prepare strong horses for the child and to speak to him constantly about wars, wisdom and heroism, thus

(1) For examples see Qarā'in, pp. 9-12, Dīwān Lisān, pp. 246 & 579; Katība, p. 102; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 210.
(2) Dīwān Lisān, pp. 579-581.

bringing him up in a warlike fashion. He suggests also that the king select companions for his son from among the most valiant fursān. When the newly born baby comes of age, Ibn al-Khaṭīb suggests that his father should despatch him to fight and frighten the enemy until he becomes able to lead the army and achieve victories over the foe:

شُرِّسَ اللَّحَاظُ لَهَا حَقْدٌ عَلَى اللَّجْمِ
يَلُحُّ لَوَجْهِكَ مِنْهُ وَجْهُ مُبْتَسِمِ
فَاجْعَلْ مَجَالِسَهُ فِي الْحَفْلِ كُلِّ كَمِي
مِنَ السِّيَاسَةِ وَالْأَمْثَالِ وَالْحِكْمِ
خَطَلَا وَرَاعَ أَسْوَدَ الْغَابِ فِي الْأَجْمِ
وَحُطِّبَ بِهِ الدِّينَ مِنْ خَلْفٍ وَمِنْ أَمَمِ
مُؤَيَّدَ الْعِزِّ مَنْصُورًا عَلَى الْأَمَمِ

...
فَاعْدُدْ لَهُ الْخَيْلَ تَزْهِي فِي مِرَابِطِهَا
وَإِذَا ذَكَرَ بِمَسْمَعِهِ الْأَهْدَى وَقَائِعَهَا
وَكُلَّمَا كَمَلَتْ فِيهِ الْقَوَى وَشَدَا
وَلِيَكْثُرَ الْقَوْمُ ذِكْرًا فِي مَجَالِسِهِ
حَتَّى إِذَا كَمَلَتْ فِيهِ السُّورَى وَسَمَا
فَإِذَا عَرَبَهُ الْكُفْرَ فِي أَقْصَى مَا مِنْهُ
...
حَتَّى تَرَى الْجَيْشَ يَغْزُو تَحْتَ رَايَتِهِ

Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī recited a similar poem before King Muḥammad V on the occasion of the birth of one of the king's sons.⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Ḥājj advises the king to bring up his son in a manner which would enable the child to deal with his enemies later on and protect Granada and Islam. Ibn al-Ḥājj, repeating certain standard phrases and usages, says:

(1) Qarā'in, pp. 9-12.

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- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1) ألا بها الكربُ الشدادُ تُفَرِّجُ | وليهن أندلساً سعودٌ لم يكن |
| 2) بالخيـل ييـهـجُ بالنـزالِ فيـهـرـجُ | وليهن جردَ الخيل مولدٌ زاحفُ |
| 3) بسيوفه أسدُ الحروبِ تهـجـهـجُ | وليهن بيضَ الهندِ مَقْدَمُ مُقَدِّمِ |
| 4) طَعْنًا كما خَرَقَ الدِياجي مُدْلِـجُ | وليهن سُمْرَ الخطِ هَبَّةُ طاعنِ |
| 5) بدمِ الأعادي في الحروبِ تُفَرِّجُ | وليهن محمراً البنودِ كأنهـا |
| 6) والخيـل في بحرِ النجـيـعِ تلـجـجُ | أبني السيوفِ المرهفيةِ والقنا |
| 7) والحقُ أبلجُ والمنا في لجلجِ | قولوا لمن ربّه قولاً ليناً |
| 8) ألا عجاجُ عن حروبِ مُفَرِّجِ | لا تكحلوه فليس يكحلُ عينه |
| 9) صدأُ الحديدِ بعرفه يتـأرـجُ | وتباعدوا بالطيبِ عنه فطيبه |
| 10) دِرْعُ خُطوطِ الطعنِ فيه ترمـجُ | وضعوا قماطاً عنه إن قماطه |
| 11) أغيالُ آسادِ الشرى تتولـجُ | ومهوده صهواتُ خيلٍ تحتَه |
| 12) نيرانه بيدِ الردى تتأجـجُ | ورقاه صوتُ صهيلهن بمأزقي |
| 13) أبداً لها عينُ الحسودِ تحـوـجُ | وله التقلدُ بالسيوفِ تمائمُ |

-
- 1) Congratulations to Andalusia for the good luck which will ease our difficult calamities.
 - 2) Congratulations to the war horses for the birth of a new conqueror who will delight Muslims with his boldness on the battlefield.
 - 3) Congratulations to the white Indian swords for the rise of a valiant fāris whose sword will disperse the strong enemies.
 - 4) Congratulations to the spears for the rise of a strong warrior who will stab his enemies like one who stabs the night by travelling through it.
 - 5) Congratulations to the reddened flags which look as if they were reddened by the enemies' blood on the battlefield.
 - 6) O people of sharp swords, spears and horses which wade into a sea of blood!
 - 7) Advise his parents, at this time in which our rights are clear, but our hopes of securing those rights are in some doubt.

- 8) Not to smear his eyes with kohl, because they should be smeared with the dust of his raids,
- 9) To keep perfume away from him, because his perfume should be the fragrance of metal rust. (lit. rusting iron)
- 10) And not to use swaddling clothes for him, but give him instead a shield preventing his enemies' thrusts from reaching their goal (lit. The lines of thrusting are crossed out).
- 11) His cradle should be the backs of strong horses, which would disturb the lions in their thickets.
- 12) His incantations should be the neighing of horses on the battlefield.
- 13) He should take swords as his amulets, which the eyes of the envious usually avoid."

The accession of any Granadine ruler to the throne was always a suitable occasion for Granadine writers to congratulate the new king or to acknowledge their allegiance. Both the congratulatory poems written on such occasions and the texts declaring allegiance contained pleas to the new king to defend Granada against the Spaniards.⁽¹⁾

* * *

B- Inciting The Granadine People.

The major role in the encouragement of the Granadines to fight seems to have been played by Granadine writers and poets, and mostly on behalf of their kings. This type of stirring to action found the minbars of the mosques to be

(1) For examples see Lamha, p. 61; Nuzha, p. 125; Dīwān Lisān, p. 620; Subh, vol. 9, pp. 338-347.

the most effective means of contacting and addressing the people of Granada. The khutba genre therefore played a vital role in imploring the Granadine people to take part in the fight against the Spaniards. This genre was also effective when it was used by army leaders to encourage their soldiers before engaging the enemy.⁽¹⁾

The addresses of Granadine rulers to their subjects were often broadcast from the mosques of Granada, and most of these addresses included appeals for the participation of those subjects in the war against their enemies.⁽²⁾

Among these addresses to the general public is a long one written by Ibn al-Khatīb on behalf of King Muḥammad V, after the spread of information about the Papal scheme to invade Granada in 769/1367.⁽³⁾ After a rather long introduction, Ibn al-Khatīb tells the whole story of the Papal plan and outlines the danger and consequences of such a development. He also criticises the Granadine people for their indulgence in luxury and for their neglect of the country's affairs. He therefore tries to rouse them and remind them of

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- (1) For examples see Anīs, p. 234; ‘Ibar, vol. 7, p. 419; Istiqsā’, vol. 3, p. 46; Dhakhira, p. 171.
(2) For examples see Remiro, pp. 368, 382, 390 & 393; Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 54-65 & p. 90; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 445, vol. 6, p. 405 & vol. 7, pp. 377-390.
(3) Ihāta, vol. 2, pp. 54-65; Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 384-391 & vol. 4 p. 445; al-Maqqarī attributes this khutba to ‘Alī Ibn Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khatīb (see Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 384-391).

the surrounding danger which, as he says, threatened Islam in Granada.

The repetition of particular phrases and formulae in these supplicatory works seems to have had an emotional effect. For this reason, perhaps, such repetition is to be found in most, if not all, of the works appealing for popular help in Granada. In the address of Muḥammad V to his people we also find the repetition of the phrase "Allāha Allāha fi... faqad". Here is a part of this address:

"... فالله الله في الهم فقد خمدت ريحها ، والله الله في العقائد فقد خفت مصابيحها ، والله الله في الرجولية فقد قل حدّها ، والله الله في الخيرة فقد نحس جدّها ، والله الله في الدين فقد طمع الكفر في تحويله ، والله الله في الحريم فقد مدّ الى استرقاقه يد تأمله ، والله الله في الملة التي يريد اطفاء سناها ، وقد كمل فضلها وتناهى ، والله الله في الحريم ، والله الله في الدين الكريم ، والله الله في القرآن ، والله الله في الجيران ، والله الله في الطارف والتايد ، والله الله في الوطن الذي توارثه الولد عن الوالد"

"... Fear God with regard to your zeal which seems to have died down. Fear God with regard to your faith, for its lights seem to be fading out. Fear God with regard to your manhood, for its eagerness seems to have lost its edge. Fear God with regard to your sense of honour which seems ill-fated. Fear God with regard to your religion, for the infidels aspire to converting you. Fear God with regard to your veiled women, for the infidels desire to capture them. Fear God with regard to Islam, the light of which the infidels are trying to put out. Fear God with regard to the Quran. Fear God with regard to your neighbours. Fear God with regard to our deep-rooted existence (in Andalusia). Fear God with regard to your country, that is passed on from father to son..."

Ibn al-Khatīb devotes a great part of this address to admonition and blame of the Granadine people for being careless about the future of their country, and the security of their women, children and religion. He uses many Quranic verses and hadīths. It seems that the writer of this khutba used admonition as a warning, and not for its own sake. It appears also that Ibn al-Khatīb was aware of the fact that the Arabs were very sensitive towards any criticism of their honour or manhood. He therefore tried to rouse them by hinting at their neglect of dignity, honour and manhood, a matter which, he hoped, might induce them to attempt to refute in a practical way such charges brought against them. Ibn al-Khatīb, the writer of this khutba on behalf of Muḥammad V, adds that the defeats which were inflicted upon the Andalusian Muslims, and the loss of many Muslim cities in Spain were God's punishment of the Andalusian Muslims for their negligence and indulgence in luxury. He then advises the Granadine people to learn from the disasters of the past and to turn to God in repentance. He adds that they should rely on God, trust Him and fight in His cause. He proceeds to advise them to take up arms and familiarise themselves with the use of weapons, saying:

”... واقتنوا السلاح والعُدَّة، وتعرّفوا الى الله تعالى في الرخاء يعرفكم في الشدة، واستشعروا القوة بالله تعالى على أعدائه وأعدائكم، واستميتوا من دون أبنائكم، وكونوا كالبناء المرصوص لحملات هذا العدو النازل بفنائكم، وحوطوا بالتعويل على الله تعالى وحده بلادكم، واشتروا من الله جلّ جلاله أولادكم...”

Ibn al-Khatīb ends this khutba by praying to God for the Granadine people.

Of the khutbas delivered shortly before engagement in battle is one by Ibn Zamrak, the secretary of Muḥammad V and Yūsuf II. Ibn Zamrak delivered this khutba to the Granadine army before a battle in the Vega of Granada.⁽¹⁾ In this khutba Ibn Zamrak reminds the army of the Quranic verses and the hadīths relating to the duty of jihād. He also speaks of the rewards expected from God, and of the houris awaiting the warriors in heaven. He also calls for Muslim solidarity:

“اعلموا أنا نذكر لكم ما لا يخفى عن أديانكم وأحسابكم أن هذا الجهاد وليمة
دعا الله عباده اليها، وحضهم عليها، فالآيات في المصاحف مسطورة، والأحاديث
مشهورة، لبيح النفوس فيها من الرحمن، وبذل المَهْج رغبة من حصول ثواب
الملك الديان، ينزل الله فيها الملائكة المسومين، وتفرج الحور العريين،
وتسبح الرحمة من رب العالمين، ويباهي الله ملائكته بالمجاهدين، وقد
تضافرت على ذلك النصوص، وكفى شرفا الفوز بمحبة الله في قوله: إِنْ اللّٰهُ
يَحِبِّ الَّذِينَ يِقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِهِ صَفَا كَأَنَّهُمْ بَنِيَان مَّرْصُوصٌ. فينبغي في—
الاستغفار من سالف الذنوب، وتطهير السرائر والقلوب، واجتماع الأيدي والكلمة
في مرضاة علام الغيوب.”

It would appear that all the Granadine promptings and appeals for help were largely based on emotional elements. They try to incite people to action through pointing out the danger which threatened Muslim women, children, honour, religion and property. Nevertheless,

(1) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 63.

some appeals based on both emotional and more concrete rational elements can be found, and an example of this latter type of appeal is another khutba written by Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb. This khutba was read in the grand mosque of Granada shortly before the Granadines' recapture of Algeciras which occurred in 770/1368 during the civil war in Castile.⁽¹⁾ In this khutba Ibn al-Khaṭīb urges the Granadine people to join the attack against the Castilian garrison in Algeciras. He explains the strategic position of the port and its importance for the security of Granada. He says that Algeciras was the door to Islam in Andalus, and that the continuation of the Castilian presence in it would mean the end of the Muslim presence in Andalusia sooner or later. Ibn al-Khaṭīb says also that the Castilians were aware of the importance of Algeciras when they seized it. He addresses the Granadines, saying:

”... اعلموا رحمكم الله أن الاسلام بالأندلس الجزيرة الخضراء بابه... فمن
جهتها اتصلت في القديم والحديث أسبابه، ونصرتة على أعدائه أحبائه، ولم
يشك العدو الكافر الذي استباحها... أن صريح الدين الحنيف بهذا الوطن
الشريف لا ينتعش ولا يقوم بعد أن فُري الحلقوم، وأن الباقي رمق“ يذهب...”

”... Let it be known to you, may God have mercy upon you, that Algeciras is the door to Muslim Andalusia... it was the way by which Islam entered (Andalusia), and by which aid comes to the Muslims who fight their enemies. The infidel enemy who seized it has never doubted... that the stricken true religion in this noble country cannot be revived or survive after the

(1) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 88.

seizure of its life-line (lit. after slitting its throat), and that the rest (of Andalusia) would then be like a fading spark of life....".

Ibn al-Khaṭīb then turns to emotional incitement, saying:

”... وانظروا للعَجَزة من الذراري والأبكار، والناشئات الصغار، زُغَبِ الحواصل في الأوكار، والدين المنتشر بهذه الأقطار... الباب المسدود يا عباد الله فافتحوه، ووجه النصر تجلّى يا عباد الله فالمحوه، الداء العُضال يسا عباد الله فاستأصلوه، حبلُ الله يا رجال الله قد انقطع فصلوه...”

"... Consider the minors, women and new - born babies, and the religion of this country! That is the blocked door, worshippers of God, open it. The omen of victory has appeared, o worshippers of God; recognize it. That is the incurable disease, o worshippers of God; uproot it. The link with Allāh, o men of God, has been cut; reconnect it....".

Ibn al-Khaṭīb ends this khutba with prayers to God to help the Muslims recapture Algeciras, and to send his angels to give them their support.

VII- Other Types of Appeal .

Incitement to action finds expression also in the self-encouraging poetry in which a fāris would urge himself to fight against his enemies. This form is mostly observed in vainglorious poetry, particularly when a fāris boasts of his enthusiasm and determination to fight. The dīwān of Yūsuf III contains many examples of this type of verse.⁽¹⁾

(1) See Dīwān Yūsuf, pp. 19, 27-28, 37, 42, 46, 69-70, 141-143, 153-154, 169, 195 & 198...

The encouragement of Granadine individuals to other fellow-Muslims was another way of summoning people to jihād. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, for example, wrote a letter to one of his friends in Morocco urging him not to miss the benefits and grace of the jihād in Andalusia.⁽¹⁾ He explains to his friend the superiority of jihād over hajj. Ibn al-Khaṭīb tries to interest his friend in the situation, by talking about the rewards of jihād, about Paradise, houris, and about booty, renown and wealth. He finally says that fortune-tellers had foreseen a Muslim victory in Andalusia in the near future, and expresses the wish that his friend would not miss the occasion and take part in achieving the victory:

”... ولتعلموا أن نفوس أهل الكشف والاطلاع بهذه الأرجاء والأصقاع قد اتفقت أخبارها، واتحدت أسرارها على البشارة بفتح قريب أو أنه وأظل زمانه، فنرجو الله أن تكونوا ممن يحضر مدعاه ويكرم فيه مسعاه، ويسلف فيه العمل الذي يشكره الله ويرعاه، والسلام الكريم يخلصكم ورحمة الله وبركاته.”

This belief in what fortune-tellers said, even by learned men, and the aforementioned faith the Granadine people and their rulers had in the secret power of the deceased Sufi saints,⁽²⁾ reflect, perhaps, the degree of hopelessness the Granadines had reached, and their need for any help whether material or psychological. It seems also that when the people failed to find the desired saviour, their fancy

(1) See Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 187-190.

(2) See examples in Nafh, vol. 3, p. 100; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 272. See note 2, p. 442 below.

created imaginary heroes on whom to pin their hopes.

The genre of al-waṣiyya (i.e. testament) was also influenced by the political situation in Granada. In his waṣiyya to his sons Ibn al-Khaṭīb gives the epitome of his experience in political life.⁽¹⁾ He points out the course he wished his sons to follow. He advises them to perform all religious duties, of which he considered the jihād an essential one, and urges them to carry out this duty, either by rushing to join the battles against the Spaniards when possible, or by helping those who do so.⁽²⁾

”... ويلحقُ بذلك الجهادُ في سبيل الله ان كان لكم قوةٌ عليه وغنىٌ لديهِه،
فكونوا ممن يسمع نفيه ويطيعه، وإن عجزتمْ فأعينوا من يستطيعه...”

Ibn al-Khaṭīb advises his sons also to obey their rulers and to avoid involvement in any civil war.

(1) Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 391-405; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 320 -
(2) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 399; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 328.

CHAPTER V

Literature Depicting Military Defeats and The Final Collapse

I

Military Defeats Depicted as Temporary Reverses

As a result of the prolonged conflict between Granada and the Spanish states it was inevitable that the Granadines should undergo various sorts of reverses and misfortunes. They suffered a number of defeats on the battlefield, abandoned their towns and villages, lost close relatives, suffered captivity and exile, and finally lost their rule in Granada. Every one of these disasters and the concomitant suffering were described in Granadine literature, and were apt to leave their mark on style in the form of new formulae or modes of expression, some examples of which are examined in this chapter.

There are not many references to Granadine defeats in the historical or literary sources which have come down to us from Granada. The Granadine writers, who exaggerated the victories of Granada do not seem to have paid the same attention to the defeats inflicted upon their country. Nevertheless they constantly spoke of the

weakness of their state, and their fears of decisive defeats which they thought would end Muslim rule in Andalusia. The Granadine writers often referred to the relatively small size of their country in order to stress the importance of their victories, to appeal for support from other Muslim countries and to arouse the Granadine people and keep them alert in the face of all possible threats. But the Granadine writers couldn't avoid referring to some of the defeats inflicted upon their country. The task of writers in such cases was difficult, because they had to find justifications for any defeat, so as to minimise its results and maintain the morale of the Granadine people.

The most effective of these defeats were those which occurred in 740 - 741 / 1340. They began with the modest defeat of Abū Mālik, the son of Abu al-Ḥasan, the Marīnid king, in April 1340. This happened when a united Portuguese-Castilian force surprised the Marīnid army penetrating into Castilian territories to the north west of Jérez. Abū Mālik, the commander of that army, was killed during the engagement. Ibn al-Khaṭīb refers to this defeat in a poem he recited before King Yūsuf I of Granada.⁽¹⁾ He wrote the poem on the occasion of al-Nairūz which occurred soon after the defeat. The verses of this poem, including those of the love prelude, illustrate the poet's sadness because of the defeat, but he

(1) Dīwān Lisān pp. 624-628.

tries to convince the king that the defeat is a temporary reverse and that the Muslims were ready to take revenge.

Referring to the Spaniards, Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:

<p>يُدُلُّ غُرُورُ الْقَوْمِ إِلَّا عَلَى الْحَتْفِ (١) وما كان جفنُ الدينِ في مثلها يغف وخطية سُمِرَ وفضفاضة زُغِف عَضَضْنَ بِأَطْرَافِ الْبَنَانِ مِنَ اللَّهْفِ</p>	<p>وَعَثَّتُهُمُ الْحَرْبُ السِّجَالُ وَقَلَّمَا فَقَدْ آنَ أَخْذُ الدِّينِ مِنْهُمْ بِشَأْرِهِ وَدُونَ مَهَبِ الْعِزْمِ كُلِّ مَهْنَدٍ وَأَسَدٍ عَضَابٍ إِنْ تَذَكَّرْنَ يَوْمَهَا ...</p>
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"... They are misled by the fortunes of war, and self deception usually results in certain destruction. It is now the proper time for the Faith to take revenge, because the Faith will never forget or overlook (such an assault). Waiting for the fulfilment of this purpose are many swords, spears, and shields, And brave soldiers, who are eager to act when thoughts of the defeat cross their minds.

It is a common feature of poems and letters giving accounts of Muslim defeats in Granada to treat such defeats as being natural occurrences, and part of the expected ups and downs of war. Granadine writers stressed this idea in their attempts to threaten the Spaniards with eventual Granadine revenge and victory: God, who decreed the defeat, would also decree victory. From all this it seems clear that Granadine writers, who always attributed the credit for Granadine

(1) There is a clear case of iqwā' in this verse, where yaghfu is made to rhyme with al-hatfi. But the older poets sometimes allowed the interchange of kasra and damma.

victories to God, also attributed Granadine defeats to the will of God. This is well illustrated in a poem written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in which he refers to the rout of Muslims at Tarifa in 741/1340.⁽¹⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb addresses King Yūsuf of Granada, in whose reign the defeat occurred, saying:

إِنَّ الحُرُوبَ سَجَالٌ طَالَمَا وَهَبَتْ لَا يَغِرُّ الرُّومَ مَا نَالُوا وَمَا فَعَلُوا فَلِلْقُلُوبِ مِنَ الْغَمِّاءِ مَنْصَرَفٌ وَأَنْ دُونَ طَلَابِ الثَّأْرِ أَسَدٌ وَغَى قَدْ أَقْلَعُوا كُلَّ مَشْحُودِ الْغَرَارِ إِلَى وَالْعِزُّ بَادٍ وَصَنَعُ اللّهِ مَرْتَقِبٌ وَعَادَةُ النِّصْرِ لَا تَسْتَبِطُ مَقْدَمَهَا	فِي الْيَوْمِ فَرَصَتُهَا وَاسْتَرْجَعَتْ لُغْدُ فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ أَمْلَأُ إِلَى أُمْدٍ بِمَا تَقَدَّمَ فِي بَدْرٍ وَفِي أُحُدٍ مِنْ قَوْمِكَ الْغُرَّاءِ وَأَبَائِكَ النُّجُودِ شَنَّ الْغَوَارِ وَسَلُّوا كُلَّ ذِي مَيْكُدٍ وَالْفَتْحُ مُنْتَظَرٌ إِنْ لَمْ يَحْرَبْنِ فَقُدِ إِنْ لَمْ تَوَافِكَ فِي سَبْتٍ فَفِي أَحَدٍ
---	---

"Wars usually have alternating fortunes, and often they have been won in a day and lost in the next.

The Spaniards should not be deceived with what they have achieved, since this victory was just a chance one and only for a limited time.

Our hearts should be refreshed and rid of sadness by considering what happened at Badr and Uhud.

There are lions of war in your family eager for revenge.

They unsheathed their well-sharpened swords and their swaying (arrows) for action.

Determination is obvious, God's favours are hoped for, and victory is expected sooner or later.

Do not think our habit of gaining victories has vanished; if you don't have victory tomorrow you will certainly achieve it the day after.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb tries in this poem to ease the shock of the Muslims after that defeat. As has already been stated, he

(1) Dīwān Lisān, pp. 408-411.

first speaks of assured Muslim recovery and revenge. He also talks of the deadly resistance of King Yūsuf I, thus indicating that the Spaniards' victory was not gained easily. He then plays down the defeat by saying that it was a limited one which happened by chance without affecting the Granadines' Faith or might:

ولا دَفَاعَ لِحُكْمِ الْوَاحِدِ الصَّمَدِ	حتى إذا محَضَّ اللهُ الْقُلُوبَ بِهَا
بحيث لا والدٌ يلوي على ولـ	وقفت والروع قد ماجت جوانبُهُ
كالصقر في السرب أو كالليث في النُقَدِ *	وَصُلَّتْ يَوْمَ التَّقَى الْجَمْعَانِ مِنْصِلَتَا
وأصبح الملكُ مرفوعاً على عَمَدِ	فأصبح الدينُ ** لا تخفى معالمُهُ

".. When God tested our hearts by this defeat, and when there was no way of rejecting the will of the One, the Eternal, You stood up, while horror was all - engulfing, to such a degree that no father could look back at his son, And on the day when the two warring sides clashed, you raged like an eagle attacking a flock of birds, and like a lion attacking a herd of sheep. The Faith, thereupon, remained unharmed, and your might was irresistible.

Two years after their decisive rout at Tarifa, the Granadines were routed in Algeciras and were compelled to surrender it to the Castilians. This development served as a warning to the Granadines that the end of their presence in Andalusia was near, especially after the failure of both Morocco and Granada to avert the fall of that strategic port. One of the Granadine poets who described

(*) In the original: النُقَدِ
(**) In the original: فأصبح دين الله

that event was Muḥammad Ibn 'Alī Ibn Khātima of Almeria, who died in 750/1349 of the plague. He describes the grief of the Granadine people after the fall of Algeciras in the following verses: (1)

وما في الناسِ إلا رُبُّ حُزْنٍ فيا رحمنُ فرِّجْ كلَّ كَرْبٍ ويا مولاي لطفك بي فإتني	على ما كان من أمرِ الجزيرة فما يرجو سواك ذو البصيرة سألتك في الصغيرة والكبيرة
---	---

Everyone grieves for what happened to Algeciras.
O Merciful, One, ease every calamity.
Wise people look to no one but you.
O my Lord, be kind to me, I depend on you in both small and great matters.

The Granadine writers' customary playing down of defeats is clear from the paucity of verses dealing directly with such events, in poems written about them. These poems contain many verses of praise for the Nasrid rulers, yet refer to the defeats in just a few verses. In a poem which seems intended to console King Yūsuf I over the fall of Algeciras in 743/1342, Ibn al-Khaṭīb devotes the larger part of it to praising the king, while he refers to the defeat briefly in the following two verses: (2)

لا يخررنَّ الرومُ في إملائهمْ ولملكك العُقبى وحسبك ناصراً	قد رُجى فالحربُ هاتِ وهاكِ إنَّ الالهةَ عدوٌّ من عاداكِ
--	--

"..The Spaniards shouldn't be deceived by the turn of fate which enabled them to capture it (i.e. Algeciras), for wars have their ups and downs.

(1) Durra, vol. 2, p. 87.
(2) Diwan Lisān, pp. 550-552.

You will win in the end, and it is enough support for you that God is the enemy of everyone who shows enmity towards you..(*)

In part of his address to the tomb of the Prophet, Muhammad V, king of Granada, describes the above-mentioned fall of Algeciras and the sorrow of the Granadine Muslims after it:(1)

”... وقد كان الكفر قد رقدَ رَقْدَ هذه الفُرْضة التي طُرِقَ منها حماه، ورماه الفتحُ الأول بما رماه، وعلم أن لا تتصل أيدي المسلمين بأخوانهم إلا من تلقائهم، وأنه لا يعدم المكروة مع بقائها، فأجلبَ عليها بخيله ورجله، وسدَّ أفقَ البحر بأساطيله، ومراكبَ أباطيله، بقطع ليله، وتداعى المسلمون بالعدوتين السبى استنقاذاً من لهواته، وإمساكها من دون مهواته، فعجز الحول، ووقع بملكه أياها القول، واحتازها قهراً، وقد صابرت الضيق ما يناهز ثلاثين شهراً، وأطرق الإسلام بعدها إطراقَ الواجم، واسودَّت الوجوه لخبرها الهاجم، ويكتها حتى دموع الغيث الساجم وانقطع المدد إلا من رحمته من ينقش الكروب...”

”... The infidels were aware of the importance of that port from which their land had been seized and from which the early conquest had been launched. They realized that the Muslims of Granada could not obtain any aid, except through it (Algeciras), and that evil would befall them (the enemies) if it remained under Muslim control. They assembled their knights and infantry and blocked the horizon of the sea with the ships and vessels of their falsehood(2). Muslims of Morocco and Granada rushed to help it, and to avert its surrender to the enemy. The Muslim attempts failed, and the tidings of its surrender suddenly spread. They (the Spaniards) seized it by force after

(*) For another example on the same theme see: Dīwān Lisān, p. 567.

(1) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 375; Remiro, p. 336.

(2) It should be noted that it is the exigencies of the rhymed prose in which the original Arabic is written which forced writers to use such quaint expression as "vessels of falsehood".

it resisted them for thirty months. After that Islam bowed its head. (Muslim) faces carried deep sorrow for the shocking news. Everything, even the clouds, shed tears for it. Aid was, consequently, stopped, except for the mercy of God who eases all calamities....".

In 1410 the Granadine army was defeated in the Granadine fortress of Antequera which surrendered to the Aragonese. King Yūsuf III, in whose reign the event took place, wrote a mukhammasa regarding the defeat of his army.⁽¹⁾ In this mukhammasa he alternates between lamentation and encouragement to his subjects and to himself to prepare for the fight against the enemy for the defence of the country. As in all literary writings dealing with Granadine defeats, Yūsuf III says that his defeat at Antequera was decreed by God, and that God's will must be accepted. He also expresses optimism about the future of Islam in Spain, and speaks of his determination to devote himself to Islam and Granada. This mukhammasa consists of ten strophes, seven of which are quoted here: (*)

خليلي مهلا فالزمان كما تدري ولا بد من يسر على أثر العسر
فمهما دهي صحو فلا بد من قطر ومهما دجا خطب فلا بد من فجر
والطاف صنع الله رائحة البشر
على العدل يجري حكمه وقضاؤه ومثاله التسليم فيما يشاؤه
ومن كان بالحق اليقين اهتداؤه رأى النصر خفاقا عليه لسواؤه
وسحقا لباغ حاد من علم النصر

(1) Dīwān Yūsuf, pp. 89-91.

(*) This mukhammasa is translated by Monroe, pp. 366-371.

ويا فوز من أنضى حسام اجتهاده
ولم يد رليلا ما وشير مهاده
يصرف حكم الله بين عباده
ويثني عداه نزا عن بلاده
بإخلاصه لله دعوة مضطربة

.....

أقمت على سهل الأمور وصعبيها
معدا أوان السلم أوزار حربيها
وكم دنت بالعتبي والغاء عتبيها
نفوسا توارت في غياهب حجبها
فأبدت خفايا حالها ألسن الدهر
هو الدهر ذو وجهين فعل منافق
فصبرا وتسليما لما شاء خالقي
وأحكامه تجزي بكره الخلائق
على رغم من يابى الظهور على الكفر
وهل يرتضي أن الكفور مؤيد
ملائكة السبع السموات تشهد
ويرتاح والاسلام في قبضة الكفر
رضيت بما يرضاه ربي وناصري
وبين افتكاري في العدو المحاصر
عسى عطفة من عالم النهي والأمير
..... (**) .

- 1) My friend go gently, for Time is as you know it to be, since there is no avoiding an easy life in spite of the (present) trace of hardship. For whenever a bright cloudless day becomes overcast there is no avoiding rain, and whenever a calamity becomes dark there is no avoiding daybreak. Since the blessings of God's beneficence are marvellous in appearance.

(**) Monroe (p. 68) comments on this poem saying: The theme is analogous to that of al-Rundi with whom it coincides in claiming that "Islam is in the clutch of the unbelief". But while al-Rundi's elegy ends with a note of despair, Yūsuf III expresses his optimistic faith in a fortunate outcome for Islam".

- 2) His judgment and sentence are carried out according to (the principles of) justice, (and we have to accept with submission whatever He wills)(*)
Yet whoever has followed the right path according to the clear and certain truth, (he will witness)(**) the banner of victory fluttering over himself.
As for an oppressor who has turned away from the banner of victory, may (God) estrange him (from prosperity)!
- 3) O for the victory of one who has unsheathed the blade of his untiring effort, without knowing at night what the softness of his bed was like!
One applying God's Law in many ways when among His worshippers and repelling His enemies when far from His homeland. For he is constrained by his purity and sincerity toward God in his prayers.
- 6) I clung to the easy part of matters as well as to the hard, preparing the weapons of war at the time of peace.
And to how many have I not graciously granted my favour while omitting to reprove them, though they are persons who have "become concealed in the darkness of their veils",
So that the tongues of Time revealed the secrets of their condition!
- 7) It, two-faced Time, is a creature of hypocrisy and its judgments are carried out with hatred for all creatures.
Hence, let there be patience and acceptance of what my Creator has willed, for there is no avoiding success and a fitting victory, In spite of him who denies what (we will have) the upper hand over unbelief.
- 8) Yet surely no man would approve of supporting unbelief, save (one who) has abjured his faith and impugns the superiority of the true religion.
The angels of the seven heavens will bear witness against a stubborn man who constantly lapses into error, remaining cheerful all the while, though Islam is in the clutch of unbelief.

(*) Monroe seems to have read مَالَهُ as مَا لَهُ and translated it as such.

(**) In Monroe: has witnessed.

- 9) I am satisfied with that wherewith my
Lord and helper is satisfied when
exerting myself in holy war among the
sharp-edged swords,
And while I am concerned with my
thoughts about the encompassing enemy,
I invoke a God who knows (all) secrets.
Perhaps there will be a favourable in-
clination on the part of Him who knows
about forbidding evil and commanding
good.
.....

The defeats inflicted upon the Granadine Muslims and the fall of their towns and cities increased the sense of fear and anxiety among them. Their writers lamented both the lost cities and the decreasing dignity of the Arabs in Spain. Examples of such lamentations can be quoted from many of the Granadine appeals for help, as well as from the above mentioned mukhammasa of King Yūsuf III.

In part of his poem addressed to Abū Hammū of Tlemcen in 767/1365, Abu al-Barakāt Muḥammad Ibn Ibrāhīm al-Baḥlāfiqī laments the shrinking Muslim presence in Spain, saying: ⁽¹⁾

.....
أين الألى شادوا المعاقلَ قَبْلَنَا	فيهم يحقُّ لعاقِلٍ أن يقتدي
لجبت بهم أيدي الزمان فأصبحوا	ما بين نائي الدار أو مُسْتَبْعَدٍ
أين الألى عمروا البلادَ ومهتدوا	أرجاء هذا القطرِ أيَّ تمهيدٍ*
أين الألى كانوا بها في غبطةٍ	واستوطنوا في ظلِّ عيشٍ أرغيدٍ
هذا وآماؤ البلادِ فسيحّةٌ	وقواعدُ الإسلامِ ذاتُ تحديدٍ
إيه وكيفَ وما بقي منها سوى	ما عُددَ في التمثيلِ شبه المَرَدِّ
لا غرو أن ضاقتْ بنا أقطارُها	واستزلونا للحضيضِ الأوهَدِ

(1) Bughyat al-Ruwwād, vol. 2, p. 167.

(*) The poet used the verbal noun tamahhud instead of tamhid because of the exigence of rhyme.

مَتَدَدُ لَا شَكَّ أَيَّ تَبَعٍ تَرَدُّ

وَالْعَقْدُ أَنْ تَشْرَ جَوَاهِرُ سِلْكِهِ

...

Where have they gone, those who constructed
forts before us! from their example the
wise should learn!
Time dispersed them here and there, and
they became either refugees or homeless.
Where have they gone, those who built up
these lands and ruled them efficiently!
Where have they gone, those who lived in
them a peaceful and luxurious life,
When Muslims spread their rule over extensive
lands and when the Islamic cities were
numerous!
Alas! There is nothing of those lands left
under Muslim control except what can be
likened to a prison.
No wonder that these cities have driven us
out and that we have been humiliated to the
utmost degree,
If the string of the necklace is cut, its
jewels will undoubtedly fall apart.

* * *

II

The Intensification of The Conflict

A) The Determination of The Spaniards

After their capture of most of the Andalusian cities
in the first half of the 7th/13th century the Spaniards
decided to continue their advance upon the remaining
Muslim parts of Andalusia. Despite the many treaties of
peace between Granada and the Spanish states, the latter
tried many times to seize Granada. The Spanish writers,
like their Granadine counterparts, used to urge their
monarchs to extend their rule over Granada, and even to

invade Africa which, they claimed, belonged to Christ.⁽¹⁾ Christians outside Spain shared in this encouragement of the Spaniards to seize Granada. Most of these foreign promptings came from the Popes, who offered indulgences to Spanish monarchs in return for their efforts to seize Granada.

The Granadine writers and people were fully aware of the Spaniards' intentions, and they were convinced that the Spaniards would not rest until they had realized their aims. As has been mentioned in previous chapters, the Granadine writers often referred to the long-standing Spanish longing for the capture of Granada.⁽²⁾ The danger of this threat was repeatedly pointed out in practically all literary compositions in Nasrid Granada. For example, In his geographical maqāma entitled, Mi'yār al-Ikhṭibār fī Dhikr al-Ma'āhid wal-Diyār, Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes both Granadine and Moroccan cities and towns, pointing out the military position of the state of Granada and its cities and towns. He describes most of these towns as threatened by the Spaniards. He says, for example, describing Lāwsha:⁽³⁾

”.....وعيون العدو لشغرها الشنوبل مغارة.....”

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- (1) See O'callaghan, pp. 413-414 & 510-512. O'callaghan quotes examples of this from the works of the Spanish writers of that age such as Juan Manuel in his book: Libro de los estados.
- (2) For examples see: Remiro, pp. 206, & 211; Dīwān Lisān, p. 429; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 404, 415 & 438; Mushāhadāt, pp. 87, 95...
- (3) Modern Loja, Mushāhadāt, p. 94.

"The enemy aspires to its capture".

He says also about Baza:⁽¹⁾

" فالعدو فيها شديد الفتكات مُعْمِلُ الحركات وساكنها دائمُ الشكَاة، وحَدُّها قليل،
وعزِيزُها لتوقعِ المكروهِ ذليل... "

"The enemy nearby carries out destructive forays against it, preparing for its seizure, and its inhabitants constantly complain (of their situation). It is powerless, and its nobles feel harassed because they always expect the worst..."

This awareness by Granadine writers of the Spaniards' determination to conquer Granada was among the factors which made them anticipate the end of Muslim rule there. The growing unity of the Spanish states, the isolation of Granada, placed as it was between the sea and hostile neighbours, together with the growth of Spanish power, reinforced that expectation which was constantly referred to in Granadine writings.

B) The Granadines' Love of Their Country

The perception of the danger threatening Granada, coupled with defeats inflicted upon the Granadines in the lands which they held, the fall of important Granadine cities such as Tarifa and Algeciras, and the emigration of the inhabitants of these cities inspired the people of Granada

(1) Ibid, p. 87.

with a deep love for their country. This feeling is apparent in many literary compositions. Some Granadine writers were content to extol the natural beauty of their country or to compare Granada to Damascus and Baghdad.⁽¹⁾ Others went on to say that Granada was superior to all other places except Mecca and Medina. Among the reasons for these writers' belief in Granada's superiority is what they used to term "its being the land of jihād".⁽²⁾ For this reason, Abu al-Ḥasan al-Nubāhī al-Mālaqī, a Granadine judge in the reign of Muḥammad V, considered the flight of Ibn al-Khaṭīb from Granada in 773/1371^(*) a serious violation of Islamic law.⁽³⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb himself often expressed his love of Granada and he was convinced of its so-called superiority.⁽⁴⁾ For this reason he wrote his maqāma entitled Mufākharāt Mālaqa wa Salā, and his maqāma known as Mi'yār al-Ikhtibār fī Dhikr al-Ma'āhid wal-Diyār. In these two maqāmas Ibn al-Khaṭīb pointed out the superiority of Granada and its cities over the Moroccan cities. In part of his maqāma Mufākharāt Mālaqa wa Salā, after extolling Malaga, Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:⁽⁵⁾ "وأين سلا من هذه المزية! أين الجنود والبنود والحصون."

"And how far removed is Salé from this virtue!
Where are its soldiers, standards and
fortresses!..."

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- (1) For examples see: Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 262; Jadhwa, p. 89; Durra, vol. 2, p. 122; Rā'iḳ, p. 62; Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 176-178, vol. 2, p. 678, vol. 4, p. 549 & vol. 7, p. 171.
 (2) See Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 175-176, vol. 2, p. 694 & vol. 6, p. 28 & 30; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 215; Rihlat al-Balawī, vol. 2, pp. 151-153; Tuhfa, p. 10.
 (*) See above, p. 75 (3) Nafh, vol. 5, p. 124.
 (4) Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 83, 85 & 258.
 (5) Mufākharat, Müller, p. 8...

Ibn Khātima Aḥmad Ibn 'Alī, a poet of Almeria in the 8th/14th century, sent a letter to his friend Ibn al-Khaṭīb trying to persuade him not to leave Granada for Morocco. In part of this letter Ibn Khātima says that no country, except for the cities of Mecca and Medina, was more prestigious than Granada: (1)

”... ومَتَى تُوَارِثُ الْأَنْدَلُسُ بِالْمَغْرِبِ، أَوْ يُعَوِّضُ عَنْهَا إِلَّا بِمَكَّةَ أَوْ يَثْرِبَ، مَا تَحْتَ
أَدِيمِهَا أَشْلَاءُ أَوْلِيَاءُ وَعِبَادٌ، وَمَا فَوْقَهُ مَرَابِطُ جِهَادٍ وَمَعَاقِدُ أَلْوِيَةِ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ
وَمُضَارِبُ أَوْتَادٍ...”

”.. When could Morocco be compared to Andalusia, or when should Andalusia be deserted, except for Mecca and Medina. There are underneath its soil the bodies of pious and sincere worshippers, and there are above its soil bristling centres of jihād in the cause of God..”.

Ibn Khātima, like many other Granadine writers, seems to imply that Granada was as holy a place as Mecca and Medina. Many Granadine writers say also that Granada was superior to Egypt, Syria and Iraq. (2) Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Juzaiy, who was expelled from Granada to Fez, where he died in 758/1356, criticizes bitterly the people of Granada for many faults, amongst which is their fanatical patriotism. He says: (3)

لَقَدْ سَمِئَتْ نَفْسِي الْمَقَامَ بِلَدَةٍ بِهَا الْعَيْشَةُ النَّكْرَاءُ وَالْمَكْسَبُ السُّخْتُ
.....
وَلَسْتُ أَقُومُ فِي تَعَصُّبِهِمْ عَتَوَا يَقُولُونَ بَغْدَادُ لَغَرْنَاطَةِ أَخْتُ

(1) See this letter in Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 253; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 266-267.

(2) See Diwān Lisān, p. 589; Nafḥ, vol. 6, pp. 190, 239 & 482.

(3) Iḥāṭa, vol. 2, p. 262.

I have become weary of living in a country where life is miserable, and where the means of making a living are illicit means.
... I am not like those people who exaggerate their fanatical enthusiasm, saying that Granada is the peer of Baghdad.

* * *

III

The Fall of Granada

A) Anticipation of The Fall

Granadine writers provide many instances of their expectation that Granada would sooner or later fall to the Spaniards. It is mainly the men of letters rather than the historians who give expression to such anticipations. This is probably because the historian foresees future events by a method of historical analysis, while the creative writer perceives the future with greater insight and sensitivity. Many of the Granadine writers, it should be pointed out, had both historical and literary interests. Ibn al-Khatīb, Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn 'Āsim are examples of this type of writer. Anticipation of the fall of Muslim Andalusia to the Spaniards seems to have arisen for the first time after the fall of Toledo in 478/1085. The famous Toledan poet 'Abd Allāh Ibn Faraj al-Yahṣubī, known as Ibn al-'Assāl, wrote the following verses shortly after that event:⁽¹⁾

(1) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 352; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 46.

فما المُقامُ بها إلا من الغَلَطِ
ثوبَ الجزيرة منسولاً من الوَسَطِ
كيفَ الحياةُ معَ الحياتِ في سَفَطِ

يا أهلَ أندلسٍ حُثُّوا مطيَّكُمْ
الثوبُ ينسل من أطرافِهِ وأرى
ونحنُ بينَ عدوٍّ لا يفارقُنَا

O people of Andalusia, do not delay your departure from it. It is unwise to stay any longer.

A garment starts to wear out on the edges but the garment of the Peninsula is falling apart in the middle (i.e. the fall of the Andalusian cities started from the centre of the Peninsula)

The enemy is very close to us. How can we live with snakes in one and the same place!

There were only few indications of the Andalusians' fears of losing their country before their decisive defeat at Las Navas de Tolosa in 609/1212.⁽¹⁾ They were probably still self-confident because they were still powerful. In 609/1212 the Andalusian Muslims were probably surprised by their decisive defeat at the hands of the Spaniards, but their cities fell one after the other. The shock seems to have baffled the Andalusian writers, who had never considered as possible such a quick collapse of Muslim rule in Andalusia. They wrote many poems and letters in apparent bitterness, appealing for help and lamenting the lost Muslim cities. The writers of such compositions did not merely express their fears concerning the possible fall of the remaining parts of Andalusia, but they went even further, and expressed their conviction that those areas would suffer

(1) For these indications see Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 366; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 351 & 452, al-Maqāma al-Fāsiyya, p. 196, written by Ibn Muhriz al-Wahrānī (d. 575 A.H./1174 A.D.). Ed. Sa'īd A'arāb, Majallat al-Bahth al-'Ilmī, issue no. 6, 1965 (pp. 195-204).

immediate and certain capture. None of these writers expected Muslim Granada to survive any longer. In the opening verse of his appeal to Abū Zakariyyā al-Mustanṣir al-Ḥafṣī of Tunisia after the fall of Valencia in 636/1238, Ibn al-Abbār says: ⁽¹⁾

أَدْرِكْ بِخَيْلِكَ خَيْلَ اللّٰهِ وَأَنْدُلُسًا إِنَّ السَّبِيلَ إِلَى مَنَاجَتِهَا ذَرَسًا

Stop the fall of Andalusia with your horse,
the horse of God; no means of rescue remain
open for it.

This feeling coloured all the elegies, laments and appeals of Andalusian writers in the first half of the 7th/13th century. ⁽²⁾

After the establishment of Naṣrid rule in Granada, the Granadine people remained anxious about the destiny of the Naṣrid dynasty. They were convinced that the fate of the lost Muslim cities in the Peninsula would, sooner or later, apply to Granada. These fears were expressed in all Granadine letters and poems appealing for help. They appear also in many Granadine writings concerning political life, and even in the literature eulogizing Granadine victories. The Granadines' fears were evidenced during running battles

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- (1) See this poem in Sundusiyya, p. 1020; Bayān, vol. 3, p. 345; Mu'nis, p. 126; Nafh, vol. 3, p. 303 & vol. 4, p. 456; Azhar, vol. 3, p. 207.
- (2) For examples see Dhakhira, pp. 74-76 & 127-129; Bayān, vol. 3, pp. 382-384 & 471; A'māl, vol. 3, pp. 314-315; Rawd, pp. 48-52, 55 & 161; Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 305-321, vol. 2, pp. 584-588 & vol. 4, pp. 352, 464, 467, 479 - 483, 486-488, 490-500 & 506; Azhar, vol. 2, p. 47.

fought with the Spaniards, as well as during periods of domestic strife in Granada.⁽¹⁾ Anticipation of the fall of the last Muslim state in Andalusia became apparent in many ways, among them the emigration of many Granadine families to north Africa and the eastern Muslim countries.⁽²⁾ The Sufi shaikhs were reported in some quarters to have the ability to foresee the fall of the Granadine territories.⁽³⁾ Muslim people in Granada seemed to become gullible, and readily accepted various forms of magic and mythological beliefs, depicting connections between them and the fate of their state.⁽⁴⁾ In his book al-Rawḍ al-Mi'tār⁽⁵⁾ Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyarī reports that there was a sculpture of Hercules (Pillars of Hercules)^(*) in the isle of Cadiz in south west Spain, with a key in his right hand and a lead plate in the left. It was believed that the fall of the key would indicate the flare-up of civil wars in Andalusia, and that damage to any part of that sculpture would indicate disaster befalling a certain Andalusian city. It was also said that the destruction of that sculpture would mean that all Andalusia would be overcome by the Christians. Al-Himyarī adds that the key fell in 400 / 1009 shortly before the collapse of the caliphate in Cordova, and that the fall

(1) For examples see Battūṭa, p. 665; Nufāḍa, p. 45; A'māl, vol. 2, p. 335; Lamḥa, p. 108; Remiro, p. 218; Nuzha, pp. 126-127.

(2) For an example see Azhār, vol. 1, p. 71.

(3) For an example see Durra, vol. 1, p. 148.

(4) For examples see Rawḍ, pp. 133 & 146-147.

(5) Al-Himyarī collected this book in 866/1461.

(*) See R. Dozy, Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne, Leyde, 1881, vol. 2, p. 35.

of Cordova to the Castilians in 636/1238 followed the destruction of that statue by Abu al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Maimūn.⁽¹⁾

In the compositions of Granadine writers there are many indications of fears concerning their future and destiny. Ibn al-Ḥakīm al-Rundī, who died in 708/1308, shows this in one of his letters:⁽²⁾

”... ولما أسلم الإسلام بهذه الجزيرة الغريبة الى مناوئيه وبقي المسلمون يتوقعون
حادثا ساءت ظنونهم لمباريه، ألقينا الى الثقة بالله تعالى يد الاستسلام...”

”.. When Islam in this isolated peninsula
surrendered to the enemy, and when Muslims
there continued to expect events foreboding
evil, we submitted our affairs to God and
trusted in Him, (may He) be praised,...”

In his poem on the occasion of the circumcision in Granada of Prince Yūsuf, the son of Muḥammad V, in 764/1362, Ibn Zamrak praises the king for averting the fall of Granada after it had been on the verge of collapse, and after its people had been expecting that collapse. Addressing the king, and referring to Granada, Ibn Zamrak says:⁽³⁾

.....”
تلافت هذا الشجر وهو على شفا
ومن بعد ما ساءت ظنون بأهلها
فما ياملون العيش إلا تعـلـلا
وأصبحت من داء الحوادث شافيا
وحاموا على ورد الأمانى صواديا
ولا يعرفون الأمن إلا أمانيا
”.....”

(1) Rawd, pp. 146-147.

(2) Nafh, vol. 2, p. 624.

(3) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 148; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 58.

"... You averted the fall of this frontier post, when it was on the verge of collapse, and you removed the danger of imminent disasters from it, After its people were brought to despair and lost every hope. So that they had no hope of survival nor of any peaceful life..."

Ibn al-Khaṭīb was extremely pessimistic about the destiny of Granada. His writings indicate his preoccupation with deep fears, and hints at the anticipation of the fall of Granada recur in many of his compositions.⁽¹⁾ In a section of his wasīyya (counsel) to his sons, Ibn al-Khaṭīb advises them not to buy any property in Granada because this would be likely to suffer loss and destruction if the enemy invaded the country:⁽²⁾

"ومن رزقٍ منكم مالا بهذا الوطن القليق المهاد الذي لا يصلح لغير الجهاد، فلا يستهلكه أجمع في العقار، فيصبح عرضة للمذلة والاحتقار وساعيا لنفسه إن تغلب العدو على بلده في الافتضاح والافتقار، ومعوقا عن الانتقال أمام النوب الثقال..."

"... And whoever of you earns money in this unsettled country, which is only a land appropriate for jihād, is advised not to spend all of it on the purchase of property, for this would make him subject to humiliation and scorn. He would be liable to become poor and disgraced if the enemy seized the country, and it would impede his emigration when difficult calamities occur..."

In a letter written on behalf of King Muḥammad V, Ibn al -

(1) For examples see A'māl, vol. 2, p. 4; Nufāda, p. 84, pp. 147-148 & 164; Diwan Lisan, p. 270; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 444, vol. 6, p. 22 & vol. 7, p. 404; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 66 & 334; Durra, vol. 3, p. 22.

(2) See Nafh, vol. 7, p. 404; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 334.

Khaṭīb says: (1)

”... فَأَعْلَمُوا أَنَّنَا فِي هَذِهِ الْأَيَّامِ نُدَافِعُ مِنَ الْعَدُوِّ تَيَّارًا وَنُكَابِرُ بِحَرٍّ زَخَّارًا،
وَنَتَوَقَّعُ، إِلَّا إِنْ وَفَى اللَّهُ، خَطَوِيًّا كَبَارًا...”

”... Let it be known that we are nowadays
struggling against hordes of enemies and
resisting, hopelessly, a "tumultuous sea"
(of them), and we expect, unless God
forbid, great disasters...”.

It was believed in Granada that Muslim rule would be terminated if the Marīnids did not continue their aid to the Muslim population. This idea finds expression in many Granadine writings. (2) In one of his letters to Abū Sālim al-Marīnī, king of Morocco, on behalf of King Muḥammad V, Ibn al-Khaṭīb addresses the Moroccan king saying: (3)

”... وَلَا شَكَّ عِنْدَ عَاقِلٍ أَنَّكُمْ إِنْ انْحَلَّتْ عُرْوَةُ تَأْمِيلِكُمْ وَأَعْرَضْتُمْ عَنْ ذَلِكَ الْوَطَنِ
اسْتَوْلَتْ عَلَيْهِ يَدُ عَدُوِّهِ...”

”... It is indubitable in the mind of every
wise man that if we lose the hope of securing
your help, and if you abandon this country
the enemy will overrun it...”

Ibn Khaldūn, the famous historian of Andalusian descent, who died about one century before the fall of Granada, anticipated the fall of that city in his compilations. The historical changes in Andalusia seem to have stimulated his thinking, resulting, ultimately, in his organic theory of

(1) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 444.

(2) See Durra, vol. 3, p. 22; Nufāda, p. 84; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 22; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 66.

(3) Nufāda, p. 84; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 22; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 66.

history.⁽¹⁾ Ibn Khaldūn states clearly that the Granadines' adoption and imitation of Christian customs was a sign of the impending Christian takeover of their country:⁽²⁾

"... كما هو في الأندلس لهذا العهد مع أمم الجلالة، فانك تجدهم يتشبهون بهم في ملابسهم وشاراتهم والكثير من عوائدهم وأحوالهم حتى في رسم التماثيل في الجدران والمصانع والبيوت حتى لقد يستشعر من ذلك الناظر بعين الحكمة انه من علامات الاستيلاء والأمر لله..."

"... As it is in Andalusia nowadays with the Galisian nations. You find them (the Andalusian Muslims) following their (the Galisians') example in dress fashions, symbols and many of their customs and habits, even to the extent of hanging images on the walls of their palaces and houses. Thus, if the wise man considers these things with insight, he will realize that they are omens of (the Christian) takeover."

In the 9th/15th century new events occurred causing an increase in Granadine fears about the approach of their expected disaster; these were the civil wars which flared up in Granada throughout the whole century. Granadine writers who witnessed these wars devoted a great part of their compositions to urging an end to such conflicts. They tried to convince their people that the civil wars would hasten the collapse of their country.

Ibn 'Āsim stands perhaps as the most famous example of those Granadine writers of the 9th/15th century who foresaw the fall of Granada. In the introduction to his

(1) See also "T.B. Irving," p. 191.

(2) Muqaddima, vol. 2, p. 450; Badā'i', vol. 2, p. 756, Créatomatia, p. 29.

book Jannat al-Ridā wal-Taslīm limā Qaddara Allāhu wa Qadā
he says: (1)

”فما الذي يُطلبُ وقد انتصف القرنُ التاسع وتباعد بنا عن مكانِ رحمة الله الوطنِ
الشاسع.“

”What can we look for after we have passed
the middle of the 9th century, and when
the places blessed by God's mercy are so
far removed from us!!”

Ibn ‘Āṣim based his apprehensions on the grave situation
in Granada, and on the Muslims' ignorance of the Spaniards'
aims. He says that the Spaniards inflamed the civil war in
Granada by inciting one of the warring factions against the
other. In this way they wanted to pave the way for their
seizure of Granada. (2)

When they were asked their opinion of Boabdil's
uprising against his father Abu al-Ḥasan ‘Alī in 888/1483,
fifteen great judges of Granada agreed that it was illegal
and dangerous, because such internal dissension would lead
to the Spanish invasion of Granada. (3) Meanwhile the
Granadine people still continued to take for granted the
mysterious powers controlling their fate. Al-Maqqarī quoted
Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Ḥaddād al-Wādī-Āshī as saying
that Ḥasan Ibn Ibrāhīm al-‘Arrāf told him that he attended
the removal of the talisman of the ancient Qasaba (i.e.
castle) of Granada. Al-‘Arrāf says that he found the following

(1) Janna, MS, p. 8.

(2) Janna, MS, p. 280; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 507-510 & vol. 6,
pp. 149-150; Azhar, vol. 1, pp. 50-55 & 158-171.

(3) Al-Andalus, vol. 36, pp. 154-157.

verses written on the talisman: (1)

طَلَّسَهُ بِوَلَاةِ الْحِجَالِ دَوَّارُ	إِيوَانُ غَرْنَاطَةَ الْغُرَاءِ مُعْتَبَرُ
مِنَ الْجَمَادِ وَلَكِنْ فِيهِ أَسْرَارُ	وَفَارِسُ رُوحِهِ رِيحٌ تَدْبِيْرُهُ
دَهْيَاءُ يَخْرَبُ مِنْهَا الْمُلْكُ وَالْدَارُ	فَسَوْفَ يَبْقَى قَلِيلاً ثُمَّ تَطْرُقُ هُ

"The palace of beautiful Granada is highly esteemed, for its talisman dominates the fate of the Granadine rulers. It is a knight of an inorganic body whose soul is of the wind which directs it, but it contains many secrets. It will survive for a while, and then it will be destroyed by a disaster through which good government and country will be ruined."

Fearing the fall of their country, the Granadine writers, as al-Maqqarī observes, (2) often remembered and mentioned in their writings the names of Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād and Mūsā Ibn Nuṣair, the early Muslim conquerors of Andalusia. (3) As a result of their anticipation of the fall of Granada to the Spaniards, the Granadine writers sent many curious appeals for help to Muslim countries. At the end of the 9th/15th century, many of those writers, such as Abū Yaḥyā Ibn ʿĀṣim, al-Qalaṣādī, and Ibn al-Azraq, tried their best to avert the imminent fall of their country. (4) Others went abroad in person, seeking the urgent help of other Muslim countries. Abū Yaḥyā Ibn ʿĀṣim remained in Granada

(1) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 507; Azhār, vol. 3, p. 314.

(2) Nafh, vol. 1, p. 305.

(3) For examples see: ʿAmāl, vol. 2, p. 4; Dīwān Yūsuf, p. 186; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 307 & vol. 4, p. 303.

(4) See Durrā, vol. 3, p. 251; Nafh, vol. 2, p. 644; Azhār, vol. 3, p. 322; Nayl, p. 324.

struggling to stop the danger springing from inside the country. He went on appealing to the Granadine people to end their quarrels and disengage themselves to fight together against the Spaniards, their natural enemy. He also tried to convince them that the Spaniards were inflaming the internal Granadine quarrels in order to destroy the power of Granada and then take it over. Ibn 'Āṣim says, for example, when addressing the Granadine people: (1)

"تَعْلَمُونَ حَقًّا أَنَّ هَذَا الْوَطْنَ الْفَلَانِي كَانَ قَدْ تَعَيَّنَ لِلْهَلَاكِ بِسَبَبِ هَذَا الْخِلَافِ، وَتَوَقَّعَتِ الْقُلُوبُ الْمَشْفِيقَةُ حَدَّ وَثَقَّ الْفَاقَرَةُ بِسَبَبِ هَذَا الْاِخْتِلَافِ، وَأَنَّ الشَّارِعَ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ وَسَلَامُهُ عَلَيْهِ يَمْنَعُ مِنْ كُلِّ مَا يُؤْدِي إِلَى الْفِرْقَةِ بِأَتَمِّ الْوُجُوهِ وَيؤكدُ التَّرْغِيبَ وَالتَّرْهِيْبَ بِكُلِّ مَا يَخَافُهُ الْمُؤْمِنُ وَيَرْجُوهُ..."

"You well know that this country could come to the verge of collapse because of this dissension, and that the caring hearts expect the most dire of disasters as a result of this conflict. The Prophet, the blessings and peace of God be upon him, has forbidden completely anything that leads to strife. He also affirmed this ban by every means, pointing out the benefits of obedience and the bad consequences of disobedience..."

Ibn 'Āṣim points out also the benefits accruing to the Spaniards as a result of the continuation of Granadine disputes, saying: (2)

"... وَمِنْ اسْتَقْرَأَ النُّوَارِيخَ الْمَنْصُوصَةَ وَأَخْبَارَ الْمُلُوكِ الْمَقْصُوصَةَ عَلِمَ أَنَّ النِّصَارَى دَمَّرَهُمُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى — لَمْ يُذْكَرْ فِي الْمُسْلِمِينَ ثَارًا، وَلَمْ يَرْحَضُوا عَنْ أَنْفُسِهِمْ عَارًا، وَلَمْ يُخَرِّبُوا مِنَ الْجَزِيرَةِ مَنَازِلَ وَدِيَارًا، وَلَمْ يَسْتَوْلُوا عَلَيْهَا بِلَادًا جَامِعَةً

(1) Janna, MS, p. 282; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 164.

(2) Janna, MS, p. 280; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 508; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 50-51.

وأما صاراً، ألا بعد تمكينهم لأسباب الخلاف، واجتهادهم في وقوع الافتراق بين المسلمين
والاختلاف، وتضريرهم بالمكر والخديعة بين ملوك الجزيرة"

"... And he who surveys historical annals and the biographies of kings will find that the Christians-may the Almighty destroy them-would never have realized any revenge against the Muslims or rid themselves of dishonour, or destroyed the cities of the Peninsula, or taken over all its lands, if they had not first sown the seeds of dissension (among its people), and done their best to create conflict among the Muslims, and had they not used trickery and deception against the various rulers pitting one against the other".

Ibn 'Āsim also urges the Granadine people to be loyal to their government and king in order to avert the forthcoming disaster.⁽¹⁾

Ibn al-Azraq, a famous Granadine writer and a contemporary of Ibn 'Āsim, wrote a poem in his praise pointing out the positive effect of his writings and the good influence they exercised on the Granadine people.⁽²⁾

* * *

Describing defeats, expressing sorrow and regret over them, attempting to play them down by finding justifications for them and attributing them to the will of God, and

(1) Janna, MS, p. 282; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 169.

(2) See this poem in Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 151-152. See also "Los Banú 'Āsim intelectuales y políticos granadinos del siglo XV," by L. Seco de Lucena, Miscelánea de estudios árabes y hebraicos, vol. II, 1953, pp. 5-14.

attempting to raise the morale of the Granadine people, all would seem to be positive elements in the Granadine literary compositions dealing with the Granadine defeats. Various instances have been cited of writers and poets assuring the people of recovery after defeat, and picturing defeats as temporary reverses, and a result of the expected ups and downs of war.

But there were, on the other hand, poets and writers who reacted in sharp contrast to all this. They wailed over the defeats, lamented the lost cities and forts, and the accompanying loss of honour and dignity, and the consequent loss of the civilization of Muslim Spain. They went on blaming the Granadine people for those defeats, and gave an unmitigated expression to their fears, pessimism, and despair. They also warned the Granadines of the inauspicious future and of the certain end of the Muslim presence in Spain. When the Spaniards captured the fort of "Al-Laqūn"(*) in 863/1458, a Granadine poet, known as 'Abd al-Karīm al-Qaisī, blamed, in one of his poems, the Granadine people for negligence in defending the fort. He also said that the defeat was simply the precursor of the fall of every Muslim city in Spain. This finds expression in the following

(*) Sp. Alicún

verses: (1)

- (3) ولا يرحتم للكرىب والكمـد
(4) تراقبوا فيه حق الواحد الأحد
لغزوكم عدة من أفضل العمـد
والجد - قرب انقضاء الوقت والأمد

- (2) يا أهل وادي الأشي لا دردركم
ضيّعتم سفها حصن اللقون ولم
حتى حواه العدى غداً وصار لهم
فاستشعروا - إذ أضعتم فيه حزمكم

B) The Collapse 897/1492

The forebodings of the Granadine writers concerning the fate of their country proved eventually right. The outcome of the continuous domestic dissensions in Granada was that the divided Granadine people unanimously agreed to sign the treaty of the capitulation of Granada to Ferdinand and Isabella in 897/1492. This ended both Arab and Muslim rule in Spain, and marked the beginning of the age of decadence in the entire Arab world.

There are a number of literary reactions to this event, but they are not as many as such an event would seem to merit.

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- (1) This poem is quoted from the poet's diwān (in al-Khizāna al-ʿĀmma, Rabāt-Morocco) by Al-Tarāysī Aḥmad Aʿrāb in his study entitled "al-Aswāt al-Niḡāliyya wal-Inhizāmiyya fī al-Shiʿr al-Andalusī" (i.e: The combative and the defeatist voices in Andalusian poetry), and published in ʿĀlam al-Fikr, no. I, vol. 12, 1981, pp. 131-170. For the poem see page 154 of the article.
- (2) In the original: يا أهل وادي الأشي لا دركـم
which impairs the metre.
- (3) As in the original. The metre in the second hemistich is faulty.
- (4) In the original:
ضيّعتم سفها حصن اللقون ولم ترا قبا فيه حق الواحد الأحد

There are several reasons for the scarcity of literary works or compositions depicting the reactions to the fall of Granada. As has been mentioned above,⁽¹⁾ the most important of these reasons was perhaps the burning of Arabic manuscripts in Granada at the hands of archbishop Ximenez shortly after the fall of Granada.⁽²⁾ The works among which must have been the Granadine laments over the fall of Granada, were probably the first to be burnt, because these works, one would assume, were in current circulation at the time. Fear of Spanish power and reprisals may have also prevented Granadine writers from publicizing such literary works.

The fall of Granada does not seem to have surprised the Granadine people nor their literary men who had expected it for a long time. Thus it might be expected that they did not produce as many elegies and other related literary compositions as appeared, for example, after the sudden fall of Cordova, Seville, Jaen, Valencia and many other Andalusian Muslim cities three centuries before.

* * *

The literary writings regarding the fall of Granada contain laments over the fate of the city, descriptions of events connected with its fall and justifications and

(1) See pp. 74-75 above.

(2) Hitti, p. 555, Nicholson, p. 435.

explanations of that historical change. It is noteworthy, too, that all these compositions were written by eye-witnesses.

The Granadine people were fascinated by the famous ode of Ṣāliḥ Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī, in which he lamented the fall of many Muslim cities in Andalusia to the Spaniards during the first half of the 7th/13th century, and which begins with the verse:⁽¹⁾

لِكُلِّ شَيْءٍ إِذَا مَا تَمَّ نُقْصَانُ فَلَا يُغْرِبُ طَيْبَ الْعَيْشِ إِنْسَانُ
"Everything declines after reaching
perfection, therefore let no man be
beguiled by the sweetness of a
pleasant life".⁽²⁾

After presenting this poem in his book "Nafh al-Tīb" al-Maqqarī comments on it, saying:⁽³⁾

"انتهت القصيدة الفريدة ويوجد بأيدي الناس زيادات فيها ذكر غرناطة وبسطة
وغيرهما مما أخذ من البلاد بعد موت صالح بن شريف . . . وغالب ظنني
أن تلك الزيادة لما أخذت غرناطة وجميع بلاد الأندلس إذ كان أهلها
يستنهضون هم الملوك بالمشرق والمغرب، فكان بعضهم لما أعجبته قصيدة صالح
بن شريف زاد فيها تلك الزيادات . . ."

"This is the end of this peerless poem. There are (circulating) in people's hands some additions to it mentioning Granada, Baza and other cities which were seized after the death of Ṣāliḥ Ibn Sharīf (in 684/1285)..... and it seems most likely to me that the late

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- (1) See this ode in: Dhakhira, p. 127; Bayān, vol. 3, p. 471; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 486; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 47.
(2) Tr. by Monroe, p. 332.
(3) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 488.

additions were made when Granāda and all the Andalusian cities were seized, since their people were trying to arouse the zeal of (Muslim) kings in east and west. It seems that the poem of Ṣālih Ibn Sharīf fascinated them, and someone appended new verses to it

The writer of the additional verses follows al - Rundi's poem in its metre, rhyme and style.⁽¹⁾ The added verses lament the fall of Granada and extol the magnificence of its palaces and their decorations, and the streams, mosques, educational institutions and other features of the city:

<p>أُسْدُ الشَّرِّ وَهُمْ فِي الْحَرْبِ قُرْسَانُ كَأَنَّهَا مِنْ جَنَّاتِ الْخُلْدِ عَدْنَانُ قَدْ حَفَّ جَدُّ وَلَهَا زَهْرٌ وَرِيحَانُ فِي كُلِّ وَقْتٍ بِهِ آيٌ وَقُرْآنُ مَدْرَسٌ وَلَهُ فِي الْعِلْمِ تَبَيَّنَانُ وَالدَّمْعُ مِنْهُ عَلَى الْخَدْيَيْنِ طُوفَانُ</p>	<p>وَأَيْنَ غَرْنَاطَةُ دَارِ الْجِهَادِ فَكَمْ وَأَيْنَ حَمْرَاؤُهَا الْعُلْيَا وَزَخْرَفُهَا وَالْمَاءُ يَجْرِي بِسَاحَاتِ الْقُصُورِ بِهَا وَأَيْنَ جَامِعُهَا الْمَشْهُورُ قَدْ تَلَيَّكَتْ وَعَالِمٌ كَانَ يَهْدِي لِلْجَهْلِ هُدًى وَعَابِدٌ خَاشِعٌ لِلَّهِ مَبْتَهِلٌ</p>
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".. But where is Granada, the home of jihād!
How many valiant heroes in battle has it
produced!
Where is its high palace of Alhambra and its
decorations, making it like two gardens of
Eden!
With water running underneath the courtyards
of its palaces, and the banks of its streams
full of flowers and aromatic plants!
Where is its grand mosque! How many verses
of the Qur'an have been recited inside it at
all times!
(Where are) the learned men who used to
direct ignorant people to the right path,
and who were efficient teachers.
Humble worshippers who prayed to God with
copious tears flowing down their cheeks!"

(1) For this additon see: "Abu al-Baqā' al-Rundi wa Kitābuhū al-Wāfī fī Naẓm al-Qawāfī," by A. Gannūn, pp. 209-210. See also Azhār, vol. 1, p. 47.

The poet goes on to mention the cities and the lands belonging to the state of Granada and their distinctive features:

<p>سيوفٌ هندی له في الجوّ لمعانُ رأى شبيها لها في الحُسنِ إنسانُ قطبٌ بها علمٌ غوثٌ له شـ____انُ أ رستُ بساحلها فلكٌ وغرِيبانُ وذی فنونٍ له جذقٌ وتبـ____انُ وجنةٌ حولها زهرٌ وُسْتانُ</p>	<p>وادي شلّين يحكي في تحشّيه وأين بسطةُ دار الزعفرانِ فهل كذا المربةُ دارُ الصالحين فكـ____م وأين مألقةُ مرسى المراكبِ كـ____م وكم بداخلها من شاعرٍ فطـ____ين وكم بخارجها من منزله فـ____رج الخ</p>
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"And the Genil valley; it looks in its snake like course like an Indian sword gleaming in the sky.
 Where is Baza, the land of saffron; has anyone seen a place like it in beauty?¹
 And Almeria, the land of the pious; how many notable, helpful and respected religious leaders it had!
 Where is Malaga the anchorage of ships? how many ships and black vessels had anchored off its coast! How many clever poets and skilful artists it had,
 And how many delightful parks and flowery gardens surround it!¹

The poet then begins to urge the Muslim people to jihād in the cause of these cities.

* * *

As the fall of Granada was a great national and religious tragedy to the people of that country, the Granadine writers do not seem to have been content to write short poems or letters in dealing with the event. They wrote odes and letters of great length describing the occurrence, lamenting the fate of their country, and the loss of past

prestige and glory. These compositions are generally characterised by pathos and are touching.

One of these works regarding the fall of Granada is a long ode of about 144 verses written by an anonymous poet from Almeria, a fact which can be inferred from verse 89. The opening verse of this ode is:⁽¹⁾

أَحَقُّ خَبَا مِنْ جَوِّ رُنْدَةٍ نَوْرُهَا وَقَدْ كُسِفَتْ بَعْدَ الشُّمُوسِ بِدُورِهَا؟!

M.A. Khafājī in his book Qissat al-Adab fi al-Andalus, and Muḥammad Ibn ʿAlī al-Dukkālī al-Salāwī, in an article published in the Tunisian periodical al-Zahra,⁽²⁾ seem to share the view that since the poet was from Almeria, it is very likely that he was Abū Jaʿfar Ibn Khātima.⁽³⁾ Shakīb Arslān, in his book al-Hulal al-Sundusiyya, attributes the poem, without any hesitation, to Ibn Khātima.⁽⁴⁾

The three scholars seem to have been mistaken, because

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- (1) This poem is published by Soualah Mohammed with a French translation and study in his book entitled: Une Elegie Andalouse sur la guerre de Granada, Alger, 1914-1919. It is also published by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Munʿim Khafājī in his book Qissat al-Adab fi al-Andalus, pp. 132 -137. See also Nihāya, p. 194, Hulal Sundusiyya-Arslān, vol. 3, p. 548.
- (2) I have not been able to trace this particular volume of al-Zhara.
- (3) See Qissa, p. 132.
- (4) Hulal Sundusiyya-Arslān, vol. 3, p. 548.

Abū Ja'far Ibn Khātima died about one hundred and thirty years before the fall of Granada.* Shakīb Arslān says that the poem was written in 904-905/ 1498-1499 . This view is shared by M.A. 'Inān⁽¹⁾ and Khafājī⁽²⁾ who say that it was written after the fall of Granada, while in Soualah Mohammed's edition of the poem one can find a postscript by the scribe stating that he finished transcribing the poem in the Hijri month of Sha'bān in 897 A.H/June 1492.⁽³⁾ This would mean that the poem was transcribed a few months after the fall of Granada, but composed before that date. There are, however, many indications that it was composed soon after the Spaniards' seizure of Ronda, a famous Granadine city, in 890/1485. In the opening verse of this ode the poet seems shocked and surprised by the news he had received about the fall of Ronda, wondering:

أحقا خبا من جَوَّ رندة نورها وقد كُفِّتْ بعدَ الشمسِ بُدُورُها ؟ !
 "Is it true that the light of Ronda has
 died out?! and that its full moons have
 become eclipsed after its suns?!"

This verse means that the poet mourns over Ronda which fell to the Spaniards after the fall of its surrounding towns.

The poet goes on lamenting and mourning Ronda until verse 56. He then describes the reactions to its fall and the consequent grief of the remaining Muslim cities in the

(*) See Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 114; Katība, p.239; Nathīr, p.175.
 (1) Nihāya, p. 194.
 (2) Qissa, p. 138.
 (3) See Une Elegie, p. 74; Nihāya, p. 195.

state of Granada. If, on the other hand, this poem was written after the fall of Granada, the poet would not have devoted the first third of it to a description of his extreme sorrow over the fall of Ronda, which was seized by the Spaniards seven years before Granada. He would also have started with a reference to the latest city to be captured, which was also the capital of the state, that is Granada, itself.

The poet's description of Granada, Guadix, Almeria and other Granadine cities and towns, after the long lament over the fall of Ronda, was only to show how grieved, shocked and endangered the people of those cities and towns had become after the fall of Ronda. Thus the poet considers the fall of Ronda a sign of the increasing Spanish threat to those cities, and an omen of the Spanish takeover (verses 101-103):

جيوشُ كَموجِ البحرِ هَبَّتْ دُبُورُهَا	وجاءتْ الى استئصالِ شأفةِ ديننا
جنايا تُأخذُ قد جناها مُشِيرُهَا	علاماتُ أخذ ما لنا قَبْلُ بِهِـا
ولا تنجلي حتى تُخطِ أصورُهَا	فلا تُمتَحى إلا بِمحوِ أصولِهَا

"Armies like the waves of the sea are raging, with the intention of uprooting our religion. (This is) a sign of a (Spanish) takeover which we would not be able to resist. This is a situation, which cannot be remedied except by stamping out its root causes, and cannot be overcome except by patient planning."

In the last part of this ode the poet tries to arouse the Granadine people to prepare for jihād and to defy the danger

steadfastly. All these points show that the poem was written soon after the fall of Ronda, which took place after the fall of what the poet calls its "shield", al-Gharbiyya, in the following verse:

وقد كانت الغرْبِيَّةُ الجَنْنَ الَّتِي تَقِيهَا فَأُضْحَى جَنَّةُ الْحَرْبِ سَوْرُهَا

"Al-Gharbiyya was the shield which used to protect it, but now its walls shield her (against the Muslims)".

The poet then describes the determination of the Spaniards to overcome al-Gharbiyya and seize Ronda, saying:

أَدَارَتْ عَلَى غَرِيبَةِ الدَّهْرِ أَكْوَاسًا فِظَاءً بِسُكْرِ الدَّهْرِ تَقْضِي خُمُورَهَا

"They (the Spaniards) inflicted extensive destruction on al-Gharbiyya by declaring savage war against it."

Many verses in this poem testify to the fact that the cities mentioned in it were still free when the poem was written. But another point about this poem should not be overlooked. Khafājī notes that it was one of the poems despatched to Bāyazīd II of Turkey (1481-1512) seeking his help. But there is no indication in this poem of such a plea for help, and if it was directed to Bāyazīd II, it should at least have contained certain greetings, adulations and prayers to the Turkish sultan, as are found in other letters of appeal sent to him.⁽¹⁾

Like all literary compositions concerning the fall of

(1) See: Azhār, vol. 1, p. 108.

any Granadine land , the poem contains certain conventional sections and formulae. The largest of these is the lamentation over the lost city, its mosques, schools, parks, gardens, industries and other signs of its prosperity. In this part also, comparisons are usually made between the condition of the city before its fall and its state afterwards, with comparisons of the feelings of its Muslim people in both cases. Thus many verses are written lamenting the fate of the city's men, women, children old people, learned men and all other classes of people. The author of this poem deals with all these elements and talks at length about his grief and sorrow over the event. Among the 56 verses of this part of the poem we find the following:

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 21) | بعبرة حُزنٍ ليس يُرقى عبورها | سأبكي وما يُجدي على الفاتت البكا |
| 22) | يساجل قطر الغاديات دُورها | شآبيب دمع بالدماء مشووة |
| 23) | وثكلاً بأقمارٍ قد أطفئ نورها | عويلاً يوافي المشرقين بريحها |
| 24) | وكانت إلى البيت الحرام شطورها | فواحسرتا كم من مساجد حُولت |
| 25) | وقد كان معتاد الأذان يزورها | ووأسفا كم من صوامع أوْحشت |
| 26) | وآياتها تشكو الفراق وسورها | فمحراؤها يشكو لمنبرها الجوى |
| 27) | وحفلٍ بختم الذكر تمضي شهورها | وكم من لسانٍ كان فيها مررتل |
| | | ... |

- | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 35) | إذا سَفَرَت يسبي العقول سُفورها | وكم طفلةٍ حسناء فيها مصونة |
| 36) | وقد زانها ديباجها وحريرها | تميل كخصن البان مالت به الصبا |
| 37) | وقد هتكت بالرغم منها ستورها | فأضحت بأيدي الكافرين رهينة |
| 38) | وقد أُسبِلت واد مع عيني شعورها | وقد لُطِمت واحرّ قلبي خدودها |
| 39) | وإن تستجير ذرا رحمة لا يجبرها | وإن تستغيث بالله والدين لا تُغث |
| | | |

- 21) Though weeping over the past never
makes up for any loss, I will weep
and shed endless tears of sadness,
22) Downpours of tears mixed with blood,
more abundant than the rain of
morning clouds.
23) My wailing will resound in Syria and
Iraq, for the lights of full moons
which have been extinguished(1).
24) Alas for the many mosques, converted
(to churches) after they had been
built to face the holy mosque of
Mecca!!
25) O what a shame for the many minarets
which have been deserted, after they
had resounded with the usual call
for prayer!!
26) The mihlabs complain to their minbars
of sorrow, while the verses and
chapters of the Quran (which had been
read in those mosques) complain at
being neglected.
27) How many tongues have recited the
Quran inside them (the mosques)! and
how many celebrations of reading the
whole Quran were held every month in
them!
.....
35) How many fair young girls, who looked
so attractive when they unveiled were
well protected in them (the cities)!
36) They swayed like the branches of the
ben tree shaken by the wind, and they
adorned themselves with silk brocades.
37) They fell into the infidels' hands,
and they have been unveiled against
their will.
38) They have been striking their cheeks
with grief and they have let their
hair fall loose.
39) If they seek help (from Muslims), in
the name of God and Islam, they get no
response, and if they seek shelter
with a merciful man, he will not help
to protect them.

.....

In the second part of this poem (verses 57-92) the poet

(1) Most likely a reference to the warriors killed in
defence of Ronda.

explains the effect of the fall of Ronda on other Granadine cities and towns. He explains also the reaction to that event among the people of those cities (Malaga, Velez, Almuñecar, Granada, Baza, Guadix and Almeria). For examples, he refers to Granada, saying:

وَمَا مَوْمَهَا سَاهِي الْحَجَىٰ وَإِمَامُهَا	وَزَائِرُهَا فِي مَأْتَمٍ وَمَزُورُهَا
لَهَا حَالُ نَفْسٍ قَدْ أَصِيبَ فُؤَادُهَا	وُتِّتَ لَهَا الْيَمْنَىٰ وَحَمَّ ثُبُورُهَا

"Both her leaders and people are stunned and stony-faced (through the calamity) together with those who are visitors and those who are visited. She looks like a person struck to the heart, with the right hand severed, and very close to death".

After these descriptions the poet points out the reasons for the whole situation. He says that corruption, civil war and neglect of religious duties were the most important causative factors:

أَضَعْنَا حَقُوقَ الرَّبِّ حَتَّىٰ أَضَاعْنَا	وَقُضَّتْ عُرَى الْإِسْلَامِ إِلَّا يَسِيرُهَا
وَمَلَّتْنَا لَمْ نَعْرِفِ الدَّهْرَ عَرَفَهَا	مِنَ النِّكَرِ فَانْظُرْ كَيْفَ كَانَ نَكِيرُهَا
بِمَا قَدْ كَسَبْنَا نَالْنَا مَا أَنَا بِنَا	كَذَى السَّيْرَةِ السَّوْأَىٰ لَدَىٰ مِنْ يَسِيرُهَا
بِشَقَوَاتِنَا الْخَذْلَانُ صَاحِبَ جَمْعِنَا	وَيُونَا بِأَحْوَالٍ ذَمِيمٍ حُضُورُهَا
بِعِصْيَانِنَا اسْتَوْلَىٰ عَلَيْنَا عَدُونُنَا	وَعَاثَتْ بِنَا أَسْنَدُ الْعِدَا وَنَمُورُهَا

"... We neglected our duties to God, so that He neglected us, and Islamic bonds have been severed, except for a few of them. Our religion has never witnessed such neglectful behaviour, so just look at the outcome (of our neglect). By our sins we have earned all the evils we suffer, and this is the normal outcome of bad action for him who adopts it. In our distress, disappointment has been our lot, and we are in a highly despicable position. On account of our disobedience our enemy has overcome us, and his warriors (lit. lions and tigers) have inflicted many

disasters upon us".

After pointing out the danger and the various factors contributing to it, the poet suggests a solution which, he thinks, would avert the forthcoming disaster. He suggests a return to God with repentance, and jihād in His cause: .

ألا وارجعوا يا آل دين محمدٍ	الى الله يغفر ما اجترحتُم غفورها
انيبوا وتوبوا واصبروا وتصدقوا	وردوا ظلمات يبيد نقيرها
ومن كل ما يردى النفوس تطهرها	فليس يزكي النفس الا طهورها
الا واستعدوا للجهاد عزائمها	يلوح على ليل الوغى مستنيرها
.....	
يعين الهدى ان تتقوا الله تنصروا	وتحظوا بآمال يشوق غريرها
فلا يخذل الرب المهيم أمة	تدين بدین الحق وهو نصيرها
وان انتم لم تفعلوا فترقبوا	بواد ر سخط ليس يرجى فتورها
وأيام ذل واهتضام وفرقة	يطاول أنا الزمان قصيرها
.....	
فإن لم يقل رب العباد عثارنا	فهذا العدو والضخم حتما يبيرها
.....	

"Return to God, o people of Muhammad's religion, because it is He who forgives your sins.

Return, repent, be patient, give alms and stop the commission of injustices which can destroy you.

Cleanse yourselves from whatever can bring ruin upon you, since nothing but self-purification can help people. Get ready for jihād with a power and determination which can light up the darknesses of the night.

Through faith, if you fear God, you will be granted the victory and the aims you wish to achieve.

God, the Master, will not disappoint a nation following the true religion, and He is her protector.

If you do not heed that you should expect

signs of God's anger which cannot then be appeased.
And (you should expect also) days of humiliation, harassment and dissension; and the shortest of these days will be longer than the whole of time.

.....
If God does not steady us when we have stumbled, the enemy would certainly destroy us."

In the last verses (130-144) the poet prays to God to grant the Granadine Muslims victory over their enemy, and to prevent the expected disasters by destroying the Spaniards. He also prays for the Prophet and his family and followers.

* * *

There is another ode of 66 stanzas written by a Granadine versifier known as Abu al-‘Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Daqqūn, who died in Fez in 921/1515. Al-Daqqūn introduces his ode with a prose fragment in which he admits that he is not a poet, and that he was stirred by the fall of Granada to write his ode. He entitles his poem Al-Mau‘iza al-Gharrā’ bi Akhdh al-Ḥamrā’. As is customary in all lamentations over the fall of Granada, al-Daqqūn starts by describing his sorrow:⁽¹⁾

وَعِشْتُ مَا بَيْنَ أَعْمَامٍ وَأَخْوَالٍ	أَمَنْتَ مِنْ عَكْسِ أَمْالٍ وَأَحْوَالٍ
فَالْجِسْمُ مُشْتَغَلٌ مِنْ غَيْرِ أَشْغَالٍ	وَلَا ابْتُلِيتَ بِمَا فِي الْقَلْبِ مِنْ نَكْدٍ
مِنْ أَرْضٍ أَنْدَلَسَ مِنْ أَجْلِ أَهْوَالٍ	وَكَيْفَ لَا وَيَقَاعُ الدِّينِ خَالِيَةً
لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ مِنْ أَعْدَاءٍ وَأَنْكَالٍ	عَمَّتْ فَخَمَّتْ قُلُوبَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ فِيهَا
بِهِمْ مَعَالِمُ أَخْيَارٍ وَأَقْيَالٍ	جَاشَتْ بِهَا مِنْ جِيوشِ الْكُفْرِ مَا دَرَسَتْ

.....

(1) Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 104-108.

"May you be safe from betrayed hopes and setbacks, and may you continue to live among your maternal and paternal uncles. And may you be spared the sorrow which fills my heart, since I am totally engrossed although I have no preoccupations. How could it be otherwise when Al-Andalus is no more part of the Muslim lands, after dire misfortunes?¹
(These misfortunes) spread and grieved the Muslim hearts! What enemies and what evils we have been stricken by!
She (Al-Andalus) was ravaged by infidel armies which erased all traces of her nobles and distinguished people.

Al-Daqqūn then goes on to mention the virtues of the Granadine people, who became the victims of the fall of Granada. He then laments the Granadine cities, mosques, schools and people, according to the traditional format of all laments over Granada:

كمثل عادٍ وما عادُ بأشكالٍ	(فأصبحوا لا يرى إلا مساكنهم) *
وقد سبا عده من أيدٍ أوعالٍ	قد فرّقوا كسبا في كل منزلٍ
اذ عمروها بناقوسٍ وتمثالٍ	فلا المساجدُ بالتوحيدِ عامرة
للأمر والنهي أو تذكيرٍ آجالٍ	ولا المنابرُ للوعاظِ بـارزة
تتلو القرآن بأسحارٍ وأصالٍ	ولا المكاتبُ بالصبيانِ آنسة

Nothing can now be seen there except their houses; their fate was similar to that of the tribe of 'Ād, and the fate of Granada is even worse.

They (the Granadines) are dispersed like the Sabaeans because of their tough enemies. Mosques have not been resounding with prayers; they have been filled instead with bells and statues.

Those who remind us of the injunctions of our religion are no longer reciting their exhortations from the minbars (of Granada). The schools have been deserted by the children

(*) This hemistich is taken from the Quran (verse no. 25 sūra no. 46 or sūrat al-Aḥqāf) which reads:

تُدْمَرُ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ بِأَمْرِ رَبِّهَا فَأَصْبَحُوا لَا يُرَى إِلَّا مَسَاكِنُهُمْ كَذَلِكَ يَجْزِي الْقَوْمَ
الْمُجْرِمِينَ •

who used to recite the Quran in them at dawn and sunset.

This poem is of historical value and interest because it describes the events of the Spanish seizure of Granada, as one can gather from the following verses:

.....

سَطَا بِجَيْشٍ كَمَوْجِ الْبَحْرِ فِي عُدَدٍ	نَعَمْ، وَفِي عُدَدٍ مِنْ رَهْطِ أَبْطَالِ
مُؤَيَّدًا بِاجْتِمَاعِ الْمَصْرِ يَتْبَعُهُ	شَرَّ الْخَلَائِقِ مَسْرُورًا بِإِقْبَالِ
يَسْبِي الْمَسَامِعَ بِالْأَنْفَاطِ مِثْلَهُ	وَقَعَ الصَّوَاعِقُ فِي هَدْيٍ وَزَلْزَالِ
.....	
فَاسْتَوَظَنَ الْمَرْجَ لَا يَنْوِي الرِّحِيلَ وَلَا	يَخْشَى الْمُغِيثَ بِسَهْلٍ أَوْ بِأَجْبَالِ
وَالْمُسْلِمُونَ مِنَ الْأَضْغَانِ قَدْ مُلِّكَتْ	قُلُوبَهُمْ وَأَبْؤًا تَسْدِيدَ أَخْلَالِ
وَالْحَقُّ مُخْتَلِفٌ وَالْحَقُّ مُؤْتَلِفٌ	وَالْكُلُّ مَنْصَرِفٌ عَنْ نَصْرِ أَبْطَالِ
وَهُمْ لَدَيْهِ كَطَيْرٍ وَهُوَ يَنْتَفِئُهُ	وَالطَّيْرُ يَرْجُو الْبَقَا مَعَ كَيْدٍ قَتَالِ
.....	
سَدَّوْا مَسَالِكَ أَرْزَاقٍ وَمَنْفَعَةٍ	كَدْوَدَةِ الْقَرْفِ فِي نَسْجٍ لَسْرِیَالِ
.....	
فَاسْتَمَكَنَ الرَّعْبُ فِي الْأَكْبَادِ وَاتَّفَقَتْ	بَعْدَ اخْتِلَافٍ عَلَى تَأْمِينِ أَرْذَالِ
وَاحْتَلَّتْ غِرْنَاةُ الْغُرَّاءِ قَدْ عَدِمَتْ	حَبَّ الْحَصِيدِ وَنَصَرَ اللَّهِ وَالْآلِ
.....	

He (the enemy) advanced with a large army like the waves of the sea, and with arms and strong warriors.

He (the enemy) was reinforced by the unity of the Spanish states; leading the most wicked creatures, he advanced joyfully, Striking the ears with the sound of al - anfāt, which seemed like thunderbolts in their destruction and reverberation.

.....

He stationed his troops in the plain (of Granada), determined not to leave it, and fearing no counter-attack either from the Muslim troops in the plain or in the surrounding mountains.

(This event took place) when Muslim hearts were full of hatred (against each other) and when they refused to bring their disputes, to an end.

The party of righteousness was in disagreement,

while the party of falsehood was in accord.
Thus, every one was distracted from
supporting the defenders.
They (the Granadine people) were like a
bird in the hands of the predator, which
was plucking out its feathers, in spite of
the bird's struggle for survival.

.....

They (the Spaniards) blocked the roads by
which the Granadines used to get supplies
and food, like the silk worm weaving the
cocoon.
Terror spread in the hearts (of the Granadines)
who decided after a long disagreement, to
surrender to the despicable enemies.
He (the enemy) took over beautiful Granada
after she was starved, and after she missed the
support of God and the Muslim people.

.....

Following this, al-Daqqūn talks about himself, saying that
when he saw what befell Granada he decided to abandon it
for Fez to avoid being enchained by the Spaniards. He also
urges the Granadine people to emigrate and not to live
among the Christians under Christian law. The poet turns
then to the Moroccan people, urging them to welcome the
Andalusian refugees and to be kind and tolerant towards
them. He also urges the Moroccans not to sign any peace
treaty with the Spaniards, nor to allow the Spanish ships
to approach the Moroccan coasts, because this would
endanger Morocco itself.

* * *

Descriptions of events which accompanied the fall of
Granada, together with some terms of the treaty of
capitulation of that city to Ferdinand and Isabella, can be
found in an ode of 105 verses written by an anonymous
Morisco versifier a few years after the fall of Granada.
This ode was sent to Bāyazīd II, the Turkish emperor (1481 -

1512), appealing for his help for the Granadine Muslims.⁽¹⁾

The anonymity of poems like the one mentioned here and of other compositions relating the fall of Granada seems to have been deliberate, since the authors would have wanted to avoid being harmed by the Spaniards on account of their compositions. (*)

* * *

One literary reaction to the fall of Granada was the Granadine writers expressions of longing for and remembrance of Granadine customs, social habits and traditions. In a poem written by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-'Arabī al-'Uqailī, who accompanied Boabdil to Fēz after the fall of Granada in 1492, the writer laments over those traditions. Among the verses of this poem are the following⁽²⁾

- | | | |
|----|--------------------------|------------------------|
| 1) | الحب في جمهور أنواره | فأين الاخوان والأحباب |
| 2) | وأين اين الاجتماعات قد | تهيات لهنّ الاسباب |
| 3) | وأين بنت الجبن؟ مهما بدت | طارت اليها شوقا البباب |

(1) For this poem see: Azhār, vol. 1, p. 108. J.T. Monroe published a study of this poem under the title of "A curious Morisco appeal to the Ottoman Empire" in Al - Andalus , vol. 31, p. 281. He also published the poem with an English translation in his book Hispano-Arabic Poetry pp. 376-389. For the description of the fall of Granada see the verses 21 - 44. This appeal has also been mentioned by J.Wansbrough in his review of Monroe's work Hispano Arabic poetry, in "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies" vol.XXXIX, 1976, pp. 446-447.

(*) This would explain the disappearance of the names of the author of the previous poem concerning the fall of Ronda, the author of this ode sent to Bayazīd II, and the author of the book entitled Nubdhat al-'Asr which describes in detail the fall of Granada (see the bibliography).

(2) See Nafh, vol. 4, p. 549.

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|---|
| 4) | في بُرْم الأُرْز تُسْكَب | وأين الألبان لأكوابها |
| 5) | لطبخه في القدر الأخطاب | واللحم بالبسباس قد أُلْفَتْ |
| 6) | آثَارُهَا للطَّارِ دَبْدَاب | والعود ذودندنة يطَّسَّبِي |
| 7) | وجاء معبَّد وزِيَّاب | وملح الأصوات قد طُورِحَتْ |
| 8) | خُلِبَ بَرَق لِسْكَ خَلَّاب | هَيْهَاتَ هَيْهَاتَ أَمَانٍ لَهَا |
| 9) | فكيف تحوِّسْنَ الأذْنَاب | ما حوت الرؤوسُ أمثالَهَا |
| 10) | تُعَدُّمُ الأَفْرَاحِ والأَطْرَاب | قد عاق عن ذلك دَهْرٌ بِهِ |
| 11) | والدهرُ لِلْإِنْسَانِ غَلَّاب | يرومُ الْإِنْسَانُ غِرًّا لَبَّاءَ لَهُ |

- 1) There is so much to be enjoyed by a gathering of friends, but where are the friends and the dear ones?
- 2) And where on earth are the meetings which were held on various occasions!
- 3) Where is the cheese-cake (lit. the daughter of cheese)?(*)Whenever it was offered one's senses were totally absorbed by it.
- 4) Where are the cups of cooked milk to be poured on the dishes of rice!
- 5) And (where is) the meat with mace, for which firewood was collected to be burnt under its pot!
- 6) And (where is) the lute whose buzz used to attract everyone.
- 7) And (where are) the attractive singing voices which were as amusing as those of Ma'bad and Ziriyāb!
- 8) How far are all these from us! they are just like dreams, gone like a flash.
- 9) Kings are no more able to enjoy such pleasant pastimes; how can the common people enjoy them!
- 10) Time has put an end to them, and time brings to an end all pleasure and happiness.
- 11) We have tried to overcome it(time), but time always gains the upper hand with man.

*

*

*

(*) A popular Andalusian sweet pastry prepared from cheese, semolina, sugar and butter.

-C-

The Apology of Boabdil (Abū ʿAbd Allāh)

The Last Nasrid Muslim Ruler in Granada

Until the very end of Muslim rule in Granada, Granadine literature illustrated the reactions of the Nasrid kings to political developments. When Boabdil, the last Nasrid Muslim ruler of Granada, left his capital with his family for Fez, his court writer Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿArabī al-ʿUqailī wrote on behalf of the king, what seems to be, an elaborate apology for what had happened, to Muḥammad Ibn Abū Zakariyyā al-Waṭṭāsī, the Marīnid king in Fez. The author of this apology seems to have felt that the fall of Granada during the reign of Boabdil was not a blow to be explained away in a short letter. For this reason he wrote an apology of great length and in two parts: poetry and prose. He named it: Al-Rawd al-ʿĀtir al-Anfās fī al-Tawassul ilā al-Mawlā al-Imām Sultān Fās; that is: "The sweet-smelling garden (by means of which) access is gained to the lord and imam, the sultan of Fez."⁽¹⁾

The apparently deliberate length of this letter induced its writer to fill it with various quotes from Quranic verses and ḥadīths, poetic verses from different

(1) See this letter in Nafh, vol. 4, pp.529-548; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 72-102.

Arabic literary periods, and proverbs and sayings of learned Arabs. He also provides a lot of historical information in this letter. It begins with a long ode of 128 verses, the opening verse of which is the following:

مولى الملوك ملوك العرب والعجم رعيًا لما مثله يُرجى من الذمم

"O master of all kings; Arabs and non-Arabs;
do observe the covenants established
between us, in the way expected of you".

At the beginning of this poem, Boabdil seeks shelter with the king of Fez, and explains to him the misfortunes which afflicted him and forced him to abandon Granada. He also mourns over the miserable end of his reign, saying:

جَارَ الزَّمَانُ عَلَيْهِ جَوْرَ مُنْتَقِمٍ	بِكَ اسْتَجَرْنَا وَنَعَمَ الْجَارُ أَنْتَ لِمَنْ
وَأَفْطَحَ الْخَطْبُ مَا يَأْتِي عَلَى الرِّغْمِ	حَتَّى غَدَا مَلِكُهُ بِالرِّغْمِ مُسْتَلْبِيًا
وَهَلْ مَرَدَّ لِحُكْمِ اللَّهِ مِنْحُوتًا	حُكْمٌ مِنَ اللَّهِ حَتْمٌ لَا مَرَدَّ لَهُ
تَصُولُ حَتَّى عَلَى الْأَسَادِ فِي الْأَجْمِ	وَهِيَ اللَّيَالِي وَقَاكَ اللَّهُ صَوْلَتَهَا
نَمْنَا بِهَا تَحْتَ أَفْئَانٍ مِنَ النِّعَمِ	كُنَّا مَلُوكًا لَنَا فِي أَرْضِنَا دَوْلُ
يُرْمَى بِأَفْجَعِ حَتْفٍ مِنْ بَهَنٍ رُمِي	فَأَيُّقُظُنَا سَهَامٌ لِلرَّدَى صُيُوبُ
	...

We sought refuge with you, and what a
great neighbour you are to him whom
time has wronged so badly.
Until his throne was lost against his
will; yet indeed the most dire
misfortune is that which happens
against one's will.
It is an inevitable and accepted decree
of God. Is there any possible change to
God's decrees!?

It is (the dark) nights, may God save you
their assaults; They rage even against
lions in the thickets.
We were kings of extensive dominion in
our lands, where we relaxed under the
shady branches of pleasure gardens.
Suddenly we were awakened by the hard -
hitting blows of the arrows of perdition.
Death is most grievous for anyone hit by
these arrows.

Boabdil then beseeches the mercy and sympathy of the
Moroccan ruler, and reminds him of the long-standing
relations between Granada and Fez. He also portrays kingship
as a sufficient reason for kings to help each other:

.....
وَصِلْ أَوْاصِرْ قَدْ كَانَتْ لَنَا اشْتَبَكَتْ
وَابْسُطْ لَنَا الْخُلُقَ الْمَرْجُوَّ بِاسْطِه
فَالْمَلِكُ بَيْنَ مَلُوكِ الْأَرْضِ كَالرَّحِمِ
وَاعْطِفْ وَلَا تَنْحَرِفْ وَاعْذِرْ وَلَا تُلْهِمْ

Preserve the deep-rooted relations we
maintained before, for kingship, to
kings all over the earth, is like kinship.
And treat us with the desired nobility of
your person, be sympathetic to us and do
not disappoint us. Forgive, and do not
blame.

It seems that Boabdil was afraid that the king of Fez might
have believed the rumours that the last Granadine king had
collaborated with the Spaniards. He, therefore, tries to
defend himself against these charges saying:

لَا نَأْخُذُ بِأَقْوَالِ الْوَشَاةِ وَلَمْ
فَمَا أَطَقْنَا دِفَاعًا لِلْقَضَاءِ وَلَا
وَلَا رَكُوبًا بِإِزَاعٍ لِسَابِجَةٍ
وَالْمَرْءُ مَا لَمْ يُعِثْهُ اللَّهُ أَغْيِثْ مِنْ
وَلَا تَعَاثِبْ عَلَى أَشْيَاءٍ قَدْ قَدَّرَتْ
"وَعَدَّ عَمَّا مَضَى إِذْ لَا ارْتِجَاعَ لَهُ"
إِيَّاهُ حَنَا نِيكَ يَا ابْنَ الْأَكْرَمِينَ عَلَى
فَكَمْ مَوَاقِفَ صَدَقَ فِي الْجِهَادِ لَنَا
تَاللَّهِ مَا أَضْمَرْتَ غِشًا ضَمَّرْنَا
نَذْنِبُ وَلَوْ كُثِرَتْ أَقْوَالُ ذِي الْوَحْمِ
أَرَادَتْ أَنْفُسَنَا مَا حَلَّ مِنْ نِقَمِ
فِي زَاخِرِ بَأْكَفِ الْمَوْجِ مَلْتَطِمْ
طِفْلٍ تَشَكَّى بِفَقْدِ الْأُمِّ فِي الْيَتَمِ
وُحْطَ مَسْطُورُهَا فِي اللَّوْحِ بِالْقَلَمِ
وَعَدَّ أَحْرَارَنَا فِي جُمْلَةِ الْخَدَمِ
"ضَيْفَ أَلَمِ بَقَاسٍ عَيْرِ مُحْتَشِمِ"
وَالْخَيْلَ عَالِكَةَ الْأَشْدَاقِ لِلْجَمِ
وَلَا طَوْتَ صَحَّةٍ مِنْهَا عَلَى سَقَمِ

.....

Do not blame me on account of what the
slanderers have said. I did not do any
wrong, despite the fact that the rumours
against me are many.

We could not ward off what was decreed, and
we did not wish for what has befallen us.
Nor did we like sailing in a dangerous
sea.

But he whose God ceases to support him
is like a child who has lost his mother
Do not apportion blame for things
decreed and planned by God.

And forget about the past, because it is
impossible to have it back; and accept
our nobles among your servants.

Have pity, o son of nobles, upon a
dishonoured guest stopping at Fez.

.....

Many are the battles we have fearlessly
fought, when the horses were chewing at
the bit.

.....

By God, our innermost hearts never carried
any deception or ill will side by side with
their sincerity.

.....

Al-ʿUqailī, on behalf of Boabdil, turns again to lamenting
the loss of Granada and Naṣrid rule in it. He then devotes
a large part of this poem to the praise of King al-Waṭṭāṣī.
This long eulogy is probably intended to ease the expected
anger of the king of Fez, and to make him accept Boabdil's
apology and grant asylum to the homeless ousted king. Thus
he praises the king of Fez for his generosity, protection
of guests and refugees, and for his bravery and other
virtues.

The prose section of Boabdil's letter, about three
times as long as the poetical part, has nearly the same
content. Before the standard conventional introduction of

prayers to God and the Prophet, Boabdil asks warmly for God's forgiveness. After the introduction, Boabdil addresses the king of Fez with obvious self-abasement. He expresses his confusion at meeting the king, then he tries to defend himself against the rumours spread against him by his people, accusing him of collaboration with the enemies. What follows is part of his elaborate defence of himself which, the reader might note, reveals mixed and confused feelings:

”..... هذا مقام العائذ بمقامكم، المتعلق بأسباب زمامكم، المترجّي لعواطف قلوبكم وعوارف انعامكم، المقبل الأرض تحت أقدامكم، المتلجلج اللسان عند محاولة مفاتحة كلامكم، وما الذي يقوله مَنْ وَجْهُهُ خجل، وفؤاده وجل، وقضيته المقضية عن التنصل والاعتذار تجلّ، بيد اني أقول لكم ما أقوله لربي واجترائي عليه أكثر، واحترامي اليه أكبر: اللهم لا بريء فأعذر، ولا قوّي فأنتصر، لكني مستقيل مستنيل مستعتب مستغفر..... على اني لا أنكره يوبي فأنا معمدن العيوب، ولا أجحد ذنوبي فأنا جبل الذنوب، الى الله أشكو عُجْرِي وُجْجَـرِي وسقطاتي، نعم، كل شيء ولا ما يقوله المتقول، المشنع المهور، الناطق بفم الشيطان المسول، ومن أمثالهم: ”سُبْنِي وَاَصْدَقْ وَلَا تَفْتَرِ وَلَا تَخْلُـسْـقْ“ أفمثلي كان يفعل أمثالها، ويحتمل من الأوزار المضاعفة أحمالها؟ لو يهلك نفسه ويحبط أعمالها من خسران الدين وايثار الجاحدين والمعتدين؟ إقد ضللت إذأ وما أنا من المهتدين • وأيم الله لو علمت شعرة في فوديّ تميل الى تلك الجهة لقطعتها، بل لقطفت ما تحت عماوتي وقطعتها، غير ان الرعاع في كلّ أوان الملك أعداء وعليه أحزاب وأعوان..... وأكثر ما تسمعه الكذب، وطبع جمهور الخلق — الا من عصمه الله تعالى — اليه منجذب، ولقد قُذِفْنَا مِنْ الأباطيل بأحجار، ورُمِينَا بما لا يُزْمَى به الكفار، فضلاً عن الفُجَّار.....”

"... I am one who seeks shelter with your eminence, clings to your dominion, hopes for the sympathy of your heart and your reputed favours, kisses the soil under your feet and stammers in his attempt to open a conversation with you. What can he say he who has lost face, whose heart is timorous and whose decreed fate cannot be excused by any apology or defence. But I say to you what I say to my God, with whom I am more presumptuous and whom I respect more: O God I am not so guiltless as not to seek pardon, nor so strong as not to seek support, but I am asking for favour, pardon and forgiveness. However, I do not deny my faults; I am the source of faults. I do not deny my sins, for I am a heap (lit. a mountain) of sins. To God I confess my faults and my failures, both the grave and the minor ones. I can accept anything, but not what is said by the slanderers who calumniate and exaggerate, and who are the mouthpiece of the Devil. An Arab dictum says "Curse me and speak the truth, but do not tell lies and fabrications". Am I the sort of person who would dare to commit (such treachery) and multiply his sins, destroying himself and all his good works by forfeiting his faith and taking the side of the invading unbelievers? May I lose the true path if that were my course of action. By God if I knew that one hair in my head favoured them I would cut it; nay, I would sever my head from my body and cut it into pieces. But the rabble at all times are usually against kings and conspire against them... And most of what you hear (from the rabble) is falsehood. It is the nature of all people-except for a few of the pious-to be drawn to falsehood. We have been charged with falsehood and with charges which are not levelled even against infidels and shameless profligates.

The Granadine king goes on to refute the charges of his people. He says that he did not lose any possible opportunity to resist his enemies, and that the fall of Granada was a matter of God's will which one cannot ward off. In his defence

of himself Boabdil says that he still had hopes for the Muslim reconquest of Andalusia:

"... وكيفما كانت الحال ، وإن ساء الرأي والانتحال ، وَوَقَعْنَا فِي أَوْجَالِ وَأَوْحَالِ ، فثَلَّ عَرْشُنَا ، وَطَوَّيْتُ فَرْشُنَا ، وَنَكِسَ لَوَانَا ، وَمَلِكُ مَثَوَانَا ، فَحَنُّ أَمْثَلُ مِنْ سِوَانَا ، وَفِي الشَّرِّ خِيَارُ ، وَيَدُ اللَّطَائِفِ تَكْسِرُ مِنْ صَوْلَةِ الْأَغْيَارِ ، فَحَتَّى الْآنَ لَمْ نَفْقِدْ مِنَ اللَّطِيفِ تَعَالَى لَطْفًا ، وَلَا عِدْمًا أَدْوَاتٍ أَدْعِيَةَ تَعْطِيفٍ بِلَا مُهْلَةٍ عَلَى جُمْلَتِنَا الْمَقْطُوعَةِ جَمَلِ النِّعَمِ الْمَوْصُولَةِ عَطْفًا ..."

"... No matter how bad our present situation is, and despite short-sightedness, and our present sufferings, fears and complicated problems; despite losing our throne, lowering our flag and abandoning our home (lit. packing up our furniture) our misfortunes are easier than the misfortunes of others. There are ways out of serious calamities, and kindness can soften the attacks of the jealous. Until now, we have not lost hope of God's favours and we have not missed the benefits of prayer which may bring extensive and continuous favours to our isolated party....".

The writer of this letter gives historical examples of God's intervention after the occurrence of disasters. He then blames "Time" for its deceptive nature. Boabdil, in this letter, tells the king of Fez that the king of Castile had granted him a fief in Andalusia, and that he refused the offer for religious reasons. Boabdil adds that he also received invitations from the eastern Muslim countries to go and settle there, and that he had refused, choosing Fez as his place of residence. He adds that he chose Fez because of the strong historical relations between the Andalusian and Moroccan Muslims, and because the ancestors of Boabdil had often advised their sons to seek help from the Marīnids

whenever they needed it. In this Boabdil is probably referring to the counsel given by Muḥammad I, the first Nasrid king in Granada, to his son Muḥammad II.⁽¹⁾

Boabdil then prays to God that the Marīnid king will take pity on him and reject all calumnies made against him. Thus he goes on praising the Marīnid king and his tribe, offering himself as their vassal. This praise comprises about one third of the whole letter.

(1) See Dhakhīra, p. 162.

CHAPTER VI

The Main Characteristics of Granadine Literature

This chapter is intended as a general survey and appraisal of the stylistic characteristics of Granadine literature, with special emphasis on the technical qualities of literary compositions dealing with the major political and martial events, since, as the preceding chapters might have shown, these events constitute the major preoccupations of Granadine literature during the period of Nasrid rule. The relationship between political life in Nasrid Granada and the development and stylistic qualities of this literature would, it is hoped, become clearer in the course of this chapter.

I- Prolixity

One major characteristic of literary compositions in Nasrid Granada is their prolixity, repeatedly exemplified by long odes, letters, maqāmas, muwashshahs, zajals, wasīyyas, book introductions and various other elaborate poetical and prose compositions. Letters written in Nasrid Granada were of a remarkable length, and it is not unusual to find specimens occupying twenty to fifty pages of

average-sized paper.⁽¹⁾ Most of these lengthy letters concern political matters, and it would seem that it was considered a mark of literary merit to write very long letters full of rhymed sentences, word-play, ingenious metaphors and aureate terms. In view of this the Granadine writers used all possible means of lengthening their letters. They used to circle around the one central idea and go back to it after an intentionally prolonged discourse of needless, and sometimes meaningless, circumlocutions. For the sake of producing lengthy letters Granadine writers applied themselves to writing long introductions, filling them with prayers and praise. They quoted in their letters early Arabic sayings, Quranic verses, hadīths, proverbs, pieces of poetry and any number of other quotations. Also in these letters are found references to places, persons, and historical events, as well as scientific allusions with which the writers intended to demonstrate their wide knowledge and learning.

This elaborate form of composition of letters was also practised in a similar manner at the time in letters emanating from Baghdad, Cairo, Damascus, Fez and other Muslim capitals.

(1) For examples see: Ta'rif, pp. 959-1018; Nathīr Farā'id, pp. 256-288; Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 529-548; Azhar, vol. 1, pp. 72-102; Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 360-379.

The degree of prolixity found in diplomatic letters emanating from the Nasrid court seems to have depended on the nature of the relationship between the sender and the addressee, and on how much help the former hoped to secure from the latter. Letters sent to the kings of Fez, Tlemcen, and Tunisia, and to the tomb of the Prophet, were longer than those sent to distant kings in Egypt, Mecca and Medina, and to the Spanish kings. Ibn al-Khaṭīb reports, for instance, that King Yūsuf I of Granada became very anxious when the letters he received from the Moroccan king became brief; this prompted Ibn al-Khaṭīb to write a poem to the secretary of the Moroccan court, complaining of the brevity of those letters, and enquiring as to the reason. In two verses of this poem Ibn al-Khaṭīb says: ⁽¹⁾

أَتُظَنِّبُ فِي مَعَانِيهَا الْمَعَالِي	بِرِمْعِكُمْ وَتُخْتَصِّرُ الْكُتُبَ؟!
وَمَنْ يَعْطِي الْجَزِيلَ بِلَا حِسَابٍ	يَكُونُ لَهُ عَلَى لَفْظٍ حِسَابٌ؟!

"How can your letters become brief, when
glory holds such a wide domain in your
country?!
And how can he economize with words
he who grants everything generously,
and without limits?!

This reveals that it was not only the Granadines who wrote long letters; the practice was common in other Islamic countries as well. It shows, too, that the length of these letters bore political implications. Letters sent from Granada to other Muslim countries were elaborate

(1) Dīwān Lisān, p. 298.

because Granada was in need of their aid in the struggle against the Spaniards. This need had to be explained at length, with equally long prayers and praise for the Muslim kings whose aid was sought.

On the other hand, letters despatched from Granada to Spanish kings were usually brief. These letters were directed to monarchs of a different religion and beliefs, so that long preambles of praise for the Prophet Muḥammad and for God were unnecessary. In the case of the Spanish kings the Granadine writers could dispense with the various honorific titles which were used to describe Muslim monarchs, such as "ḥāmī ḥimā al-Islām" "ḥāzīm al-aʿādī" "amīr al-muʿminīn" "al-mujāhid"... etc.; Granadine writers could not use such phrases to describe the Spanish kings. The Spaniards were perhaps unused to Arabic long-windedness, word-play and the use of synonymous phrases and sentences, and therefore the Granadine court writers would avoid these in their letters to Spanish rulers. Besides, the subject-matter of the letters sent to Spanish rulers differed from that of the communications sent to Muslim countries. Most of the former were either complaints about Spanish aggression against Granada or against Granadine subjects, or requests for the renewal of peace treaties. Finally, the brevity of letters sent from Granada to Spanish rulers confirms the view that the length of Naṣrid letters depended on the closeness of the Naṣrid kings' relationships with the rulers

addressed.

As has been mentioned before, prolixity was not restricted to letters, but was a marked feature of all other compositions, whether in poetry or prose.

In prose works we often find book-length introductions full of prayers and honorific titles, which give scope to many rhetorical embellishments.⁽¹⁾

The maqāma genre in Naṣrid Granada, though imitating the early Eastern Arabic maqāmas of al-Hamadhānī and al-Ḥarīrī, was also characterised by excessive length. There are, also, many lengthy khutbas, wasīyyas and even tomb inscriptions in the same style.

As for poetry, most poems written as eulogies, elegies, and as descriptions of national and religious occasions, or concerning affairs of state or of the monarch, are very long. The usual number of verses found in such odes ranges between 60 to 150. Every distinguished Granadine writer seems to have written these long odes; Ibn Zamrak, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī, Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn ʿĀsim are but a few examples. It seems that the length of these odes amounted in itself to a virtue. On account of this, Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī praises king Muḥammad V for the

(1) For example see: Rihlat al-Balawī, vol. 1, pp. 141-143; Janna, pp. 1-3.

latter's skill in this kind of composition.⁽¹⁾ Such prolixity affected the art of the muwashshah also. In the pre-Nasrid era, it was subject to strict conventions and rules, especially concerning the number of strophes, which were restricted to seven at most. The authors of muwashshahs in Nasrid Granada, however, ignored this rule, and wrote muwashshahs with a varied number of strophes. Ibn Zamrak, Ibn al-Khatīb and Mālik Ibn al-Murahḥal al-Mālaqī may be quoted as writers of long muwashshahs.⁽²⁾ Such lengthy style is characteristic too of the zajal genre; there is a zajal of 51 strophes.⁽³⁾

The probable reason for the length of these muwashshahs and zajals in Nasrid Granada is the need to match the length of odes and letters. The nature of Granadine interests and cares at the time may have necessitated a lengthening of literary compositions, especially those works dealing with national concerns. Those matters discussed by Ibn al-Khatīb in his muwashshah beginning:

جَادَكَ الْغَيْثُ إِذَا الْغَيْثُ هَمَى يَا زَمَانَ الْوَصْلِ بِالْأَنْدَلُسِ

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- (1) Qarā'in, p. 43.
(2) For examples see: Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 453-459, 240 - 256 & 11-14.
(3) "Un zajal Hispanique," Al-Andalus, vol. 6, 1941, pp. 382-392.

cannot be dealt with in only six strophes.⁽¹⁾ The same argument holds good for odes, since the treatment and comment on the political and martial events which took place in Nasrid Granada could not be encapsulated into short, brief fragments. The escape of Muḥammad V to Fez in 760 / 1358 and the recovery of his throne in Granada in 763 / 1361 were described in two long poems by Ibn al-Khaṭīb. The first poem was recited by the poet before the king of Fez, Abū Sālim al-Marīnī, begging him to protect Muḥammad V and to help him recover his throne.⁽²⁾ In the other ode Ibn al-Khaṭīb describes and celebrates the victorious return to Granada of the dethroned king.⁽³⁾ Both of these odes are of considerable length, since the first was an effort to convince the Marīnid king of the need to help the ousted Nasrid king, while the other was meant to express the great joy of the king's secretary and companion at the recovery of the throne. Literary compositions describing political and martial events were often written in a narrative style and were characterised by long-windedness and irrelevant detail.

(1) Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 11-14.

(2) See this poem in A'māl, vol. 2, pp. 359-360; Lamḥa, pp. 122-125, Ibar, vol. 7, pp. 638-642; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 196-200, Istiqsā', vol. 4, pp. 9-12.

(3) See this ode in Nufada, pp. 287-297; Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 478-480; Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 262-264.

II- Excessive Use of Rhetorical Conceits.

One of the most obvious characteristics of Nasrid Granadine literature is the excessive use of rhetorical effects. There was a marked interest in the use of embellishments such as rhyme, balanced parallelistic sentences, and synonyms, and a similar obsession with other rhetorical refinements such as jinās (paronomasia), tawriya (pun), ṭibāq (antithesis) and various other kinds of word-play. These elements are a marked feature of both poetry and prose, and, in order to make full use of them, writers often went to the extent of sacrificing clarity of meaning. The spread of this type of writing led to the compilation of many books on Arabic rhetorics. Ibn Zarqāla wrote a special commentary on the art of tawriya in the poetry of his teacher Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad Ibn Khātima, and entitled it: Rāʾiq al-Tahliya fī Fāʾiq al-Tawriya. Among the books written by Ibn al-Ḥājj al-Numairī is a book on tawriya,⁽¹⁾ and a second book on other rhetorical techniques.⁽²⁾ Ibn Ḥayyān, a famous Granadine grammarian, wrote a book on rhetoric entitled Khulāṣat al-Ṭabyān fī ʿIlm al-Badīʿ wal-Bayān.⁽³⁾ Ismāʿīl Ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Aḥmar, who produced a number of works on the literary life of Granada and Morocco in the 14th century, prefaced his

(1) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 346.

(2) Ibid, p. 347.

(3) Wafī, vol. 5, p. 281.

book Nathīr al-Jumān with a chapter on rhetorical embellishments.

Fine prose in Granada often incorporated rhyme, and this phenomenon influenced historical, religious and critical works. Although rhymed prose was known in the pre-Islamic period, and was characteristic of many prose works throughout the history of Arabic literature, it appears to have become an essential requirement of literary composition in Granada, to such an extent that it was judged unusual for any Granadine writer to write in unrhymed prose. Ibn Khaldūn confirms this phenomenon by saying that the unrhymed letters he used to write were thought unusual by Granadine and north African men of letters.⁽¹⁾ Granadine writers, however, displayed great sophistication in composing in rhymed prose. In a letter written by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, on behalf of King Yūsuf I, to King Abū 'Inān al-Marīnī of Morocco, the author rhymes every four or five sentences with one of the letters of the Alphabet consecutively.⁽²⁾

Another widespread rhetorical effect used in Granadine literature is the art of al-tawriya (i.e.

(1) Ta'rif, p. 864.

(2) See this letter in Kunāsa, pp. 75-79. The same word-play occurs in other literary genres, see for instance a muwashshaha of Mālik Ibn al-Murāḥḥal in Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 453-459.

the pun or the double entendre). Although the style of double entendre was widespread in Granadine literature and was paid a remarkable degree of attention by Granadine writers, both poets and prose writers, they would still claim that this style was originally transmitted to Andalusia from the East. They often introduced verses containing tawriya with such phrases as "ومما قلته على طريقة المشاركة" (i.e. And from what I wrote in the Eastern Arabic style ..).⁽¹⁾ In fact this style had been used early in the sixth and seventh centuries of the Hijra in Egypt and Syria, as attested by the prose works of al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil (d. 596 A.H./1099 A.D.) al-ʿImād al-Aṣḥānī and others. Many Granadine writers appear to have liked tawriya, and used it extensively in their poetry and prose. Ibn al-Jayyāb, Abu al-Barakāt al-Balafīqī, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Khātima and Ibn Juzaiy, to name but a few, used the technique in their compositions. Some of their skill in word-play depended on the extensive use of tawriya, and Abū Jaʿfar al-Ṭanjālī, one of the eighth/fourteenth century Granadine writers, wrote a khutba in which he used tawriya to quote the names of all the sūras of the Quran in the same sequence as they occur.⁽²⁾ Some puns constituted

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- (1) The Eastern Arabic authors were interested in this art and they compiled many books on it such as: Fadd al-Khitām ʿan al-Tawriya wal-Istikhdām by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Safadī, and the book entitled Kashf al-Lithām ʿan al-Tawriya wal-Istikhdām by Ibn Hujja al-Hamawī.
- (2) See this khutba in Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 335-337.

oblique references to the titles of famous Arabic books. Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn Juzaiy wrote a letter to Abū ‘Inān al-Marīnī congratulating him on the recovery of his son Abū Zayyān, using in the letter expressions which echoed, by implication, titles of well-known Arabic books.⁽¹⁾ The use of tawriya in such a way may have been intended by the writers to demonstrate their acquaintance with Arabic books and the extent of their learning, besides their skill in the art of tawriya itself. This art, however, played its part in forming the literary taste of the Granadine people. Ibn Zarqāla, for instance, says that poetry containing tawriya is the best, and that it testifies to its author's eloquence and mastery of the poetic art:⁽²⁾

”...وكانت التورية من محاسن الشعر تشهد لصاحبها بجلالة القدر وتجل من النفوس محلل النور من الرياض...”

On the other hand, Granadine writers, by adopting tawriya and mastering the variations of its use, may have wished to use it as a form of diversion or entertainment for their readers, because clever variations in the manipulation of tawriya would make the reader admire the whole technique, and the way it was used in any particular context. Thus it would appear that the frequent use of tawriya by Granadine writers was ideally suited to the lively nature of the Andalusian people, and especially at a time when such a

(1) See Azhār, vol. 3, p. 198. And for other examples see: Nathir Farā'id, pp. 397 & 399.

(2) Rā'iq, p. 29.

nature was oppressed by fears and anxieties resulting from the Granadine-Spanish conflict.

For the purpose of entertainment, too, the composition of riddles in verse form became popular in Granada, and it is reported that Ibn al-Jayyāb was skilled in this type of poetry.⁽¹⁾

Personification and similes were also common in the literature of the period, especially in satire, mockery and gloating over the Spaniards' defeats. They were also used on a large scale in letters and poems appealing for military aid. Poets and men of letters in Granada depicted Andalusian mosques as speaking and wailing, the Spanish crosses as having arms which could spread over Muslim lands, and all this, in order to convey a more striking picture to their Muslim readers of the danger of impending events.

Various other forms of word-play figure in Granadine Muslim literature. Abū Yahyā Muḥammad Ibn 'Āsim, who died in 888 / 1483 wrote a long poem in praise of King Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yūsuf Ibn Naṣr. He wrote some words of each verse in red ink, and these, read together, formed a second poem within the poem, while other words in green

(1) See examples of his riddles in verse in Nafh, vol. 5, pp. 443-445 & 450-454.

ink, formed yet a third poem. At the same time the remaining words, after each of the poems in coloured ink was read separately, formed two muwashshahs.⁽¹⁾ Many poems and prose compositions can be found in which word-play centres on accordance of sound or letters, or the avoidance of a certain sound. For example, Ibn Khātima, in his dīwān, introduced a poem sent to him by Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Juzaiy (d. 758 / 1356), in which the latter avoided the use of the sound "R" "ر", because he suffered from a speech defect relating to this sound. His lisp made him pronounce the "R" as "GH" (غ).⁽²⁾ Ibn Khātima replied with a similar poem, avoiding the sound "R" and using the sound "Z" (ز) instead.⁽³⁾ In the same way Ahmad Ibn al-Hasan al-Zayyāt al-Kalā‘ī (d. 728 / 1327) delivered a khutba in which he avoided the letter (Ā).⁽⁴⁾ Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Murābi‘ al-Azdī, an eighth/fourteenth century Granadine writer, composed poems using unpointed letters (letters with no diacritical points). He also wrote poems in which he only used pointed letters, and produced some verses in which the words consist alternately of pointed and unpointed letters.⁽⁵⁾ This particular type of word-play is found in earlier literary periods, and was perhaps first given currency in the

(1) See this poem in Azhār, vol. 1, pp. 146-157.

(2) Dīwān Ibn Khātima, pp. 188-190.

(3) Ibid, pp. 191-193.

(4) Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 290-293.

(5) Nafḥ, vol. 6, p. 104.

assemblies of al-Ḥarīrī in the Arab East.⁽¹⁾ Ibn al - Khaṭīb practised this type of word-play; he wrote a letter to Abū 'Inān al-Marīnī, king of Morocco, using the letter "S" in every word.⁽²⁾ Ibn Juzaiy (d. 758 / 1356) the secretary of Abū 'Inān, replied with a letter in the same style, using the sound "S" in almost every word.⁽³⁾ It is worthwhile noting, however, that this sort of homogeneity, and especially in the use of sibilants, is traceable to earlier Eastern Arabic writing.⁽⁴⁾

Most Granadine literary compositions are a display of rhetorical artifices, and they are full of alliteration, assonance, rhyme, paronomasia, verbal conceits and other forms of play upon words. As it has already been remarked above, a tendency towards the use of these rhetorical figures is traceable to much earlier Arabic writing in the East. In Nasrid Granada, as in other Muslim countries of the time, these conceits were equated with literary merit, and literary composition lacking in them would have been disregarded or overlooked by literary critics. Some relationship between this excessive literary artifice and the social

(1) See maqāma No. 46 of al-Ḥarīrī known as al-Maqāma al-Halabiyya. See also: Khariḍat al-Qasr of al-Isfahānī, vol. 2, pp. 458-486. Ed. S. Al-Faiṣal, Damascus, 1959.

(2) Nathīr Farā'id, p. 288.

(3) Ibid, p. 303.

(4) See maqāma No. 46 of al-Ḥarīrī

life of Granada is perhaps possible to discern. Life in Granada, one might say, was itself a mixture of flamboyance and pomp, and particularly in the court circles, where the prominent men of letters usually resided. The beauty of nature, luxury, leisure, clutural variety and a sophisticated life-style,⁽¹⁾ can all be said to have been contributing factors, in one way or another, to artifice and sophistication in literature.⁽²⁾ This excessive aritifice is more generally observed in literature written on personal or individual concerns and themes, and occurs on a lesser scale in literary compositions dealing with serious political, or national subjects. But despite this, and the fact that a few literary compositions relating to political matters dispensed with literary artifice, adherence to it may still be seen, to varying extents, in literary compositions dealing with the most serious political matters and crises.

Tibāq (antithesis), figured prominently in compositions on political themes. The Granadine-Spanish conflict proved to be an ideal subject-matter for embellishment with this figure of speech. This is because

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- {1} See Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 138-139; Lamha, p. 40.
{2} A probable factor contributing to the increasing interest in embellishment in Arabic literature was the change in the social life of the Arabs following their conquest of lands with varied characters, nature, soil and wealth. Thus, the more socially and naturally varied the conquered land was, the more embellished and refined the literature of its Arab conquerors became, in order to match the new environment.

every aspect of the conflict had two sides to it, the Spanish and the Granadine. Granadine writers used also to stress the difference or contrast between the glorious Muslim past in Spain and the situation they had come to during the Nasrid era. Parallelistic sentences balanced in contrast were quite common in such a context.

However, the use of these rhetorical figures, collectively classified under the Arabic term badī', was greatly admired by the Granadine people, and was seen as an essential aspect of literary writing. Ismā'īl Ibn Yūsuf Ibn al-Aḥmar refers to this in his book Nathīr al-Jumān saying: ⁽¹⁾

”... فمن ملك زمام ذلك فهو المقدم لحمل راية الأدب، ومن كان خلياً منه فباعه في الاجادة لا محالة قصير...”

”He who becomes a master (of badī') is a distinguished writer, and he whose writing is bereft of it is undoubtedly one who can achieve no excellence.

III- The Conventional Nature of Granadine Literature

The widespread rhetorical artifice in Granadine literature is but one example of the continuity of those literary traditions found in earlier literature in the Arab East. Other aspects of this continuity are also present in Granadine literary compositions, as the following

(1) Nathīr, p. 51.

pages will show. Adherence to literary conventions and maintenance of established literary forms are fundamental to Granadine literature, and are also characteristic of Arabic literature as a whole throughout its history.⁽¹⁾

Granadine poets and writers imitated Eastern Arabic literary works in almost every aspect, adhering to the style and even the phraseology of the works they imitated. The Granadine poet never hesitated to fashion his composition according to a prevailing type, and to repeat this continually without any striving after originality. Granadine writers, like other Arabic writers of different periods and countries, were content to produce variations upon a single theme; differences existed merely in the treatment of the theme.

Those qualities peculiar to ancient Arabic literature, in both content and form, served as the accepted pattern of true literature. The technique and subjects of the several constituent parts of the qasida were maintained in Granadine literature, and influences upon Granadine poets and writers could often be traced to previous, and mostly Eastern Arab poets and writers. Yaḥyā Ibn Hudhail, for example, is reported to have written poetry similar to that of Ibn Wāṣil al-Ḥamawī, a Syrian poet, historian and philosopher

(1) Gibb, p. 18, Adler, p. 14 and p. 35.

who died in 697 / 1297.⁽¹⁾ The resemblance between the two poets stems possibly from the fact that their poetry was influenced by their philosophical training. 'Umar al-Zajjāl al-Mālaqī, too, is said to have been inspired by al-Ma'arrī's witty style in poetry.⁽²⁾ The famous Arabic poets of the East were often quoted as being the most august example for Granadine writers.⁽³⁾ Another way of imitating Arabic literature in the East was to follow the stylistic pattern of a famous poem, keeping its poetical metre and rhyme in the form of Mu'ārada (Parody). Many Granadine poets imitated the poems of Imru'u al-Qais,⁽⁴⁾ Abū Tammām,⁽⁵⁾ Abū Nuwās,⁽⁶⁾ al-Ḥarīrī⁽⁷⁾ and others.^(*) The Granadine writers followed Eastern Arab authors in style, themes, forms and even in the use of archaic vocabulary and images, in addition to making frequent reference to place names in the Arab East and extensively quoting Eastern Arab poetry and prose. ⁽⁸⁾ García Gómez maintains that Granadine literature was copied from earlier

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- (1) Nathīr Farā'id, p. 320. (2) Azhār, vol. 1, p. 132.
 (3) See Nathīr Farā'id pp. 316-317 and 320-321.
 (4) Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 159. (5) Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 195-201.
 (6) Diwān Lisān, p. 648 & Nafh, vol. 5, p. 495.
 (7) Nafh, vol. 2, p. 195.
 (*) Similarities could be traced between the Granadine poets' description of victories and al-Mutanabbī's description of Sayf al-Dawla's victories. In both cases the poets celebrated the victories, praised the ruler concerned, described the squadrons and weapons and gloated over the defeat of the enemy in elaborate qasīdas and in eloquent and often pompous expressions. But while the Granadine poets did all this because of their commitment or devotion to their country which was in a grave political situation, al-Mutanabbī was perhaps committed to his own personal feeling of grandeur. Unlike the Granadine poets, he did not belong to the country which victories he celebrated in his poetry (See the article by J.D. Latham: "Towards a Better Understanding of al-Mutanabbī's Poem on the Battle of al-Ḥadath" in Journal of Arabic Literature, vol. X, 1979, pp. 1-22).
 (8) Quoting earlier Arabic literature is among the literary habits adhered to by Granadine writers. They quoted verses and hemistichs, Quranic verses, ḥadīths, adages, and proverbs. Such quotations were usually placed in a suitable context, giving them a new nuance. By this kind of quoting the writers may have wanted to display their wide range of learning.

Arabic literature.⁽¹⁾ Levi Provençal voices the same idea when he says that Andalusian literature, including that of the Nasrid period, was in general an imitation of Eastern Arabic literature, and that the degree of excellence of any Andalusian literary piece depended on how successfully the Andalusian writer could imitate an Eastern counterpart.⁽²⁾ Shauqī Daif suggests that Andalusian literature after the eleventh century became fossilized, emerging as simply a repetition of the literature of earlier periods.⁽³⁾ Granadine literary critics, however, voice a slightly different point of view. Ibn Zarqāla admits that literature is an inherited art, and that the Arabs inherited it like sons from their fathers. In his time he says they were still clinging to established literary traditions, but he adds that the literature of each generation and country has to be influenced by its own environment:⁽⁴⁾

" ولم يزل الناس - خلفا عن سلف - يتوارثونه ، ويتبعون منهج العرب ويقتفونه ، هذا وان كانوا لا ينتجعون إلا من واديههم ولا يستمطرون إلا من غواديههم . . . "

Abū ‘Abd Allāh Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Juzayy of Granada seems annoyed by a versifier who used to imitate and quote from many of the compositions of previous poets, and he satirizes this versifier in the following verses:⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) Gómez, p. 72.
 - (2) Levi Provençal, p. 18.
 - (3) Al-Fann wa Madhāhibuhū, p. 171.
 - (4) Ra‘iq, p. 27. G.J. Adler says in this connection: The poetry of Moorish Spain differs upon the whole but little, either in point of form or character, from that of the East, except perhaps as far as it was modified imperceptibly by the influence of climate and of sky.. Adler, pp. 24-25.
 - (5) Ihāṭa, MS, fol. 81.

<p>لقد صرّت في غصب القصائد ما هـرا ولم يبق شعراً لا مرى متقى فشعر جرير قد غصبت ورؤيعة وان دام هذا الأمر أصبحت تدعي</p>	<p>فما اسم جمع الشعر عندك غـزل ولم يبق شعراً يا ابن شـت لاؤل وشعر ابن مرج الكحل وابن المرحل قفا نبيك من ذكرى حبيب ومنزل</p>
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Though he was highly critical of this poet's practice, Ibn Juzaiy himself quotes, in the second hemistich of the last verse, the first hemistich of Imru' u al-Qais's Mu'allāqa (Qifā nabki min dhikrā ḥabībīn wa manzillī). This imitation of previous literary patterns and compositions has, perhaps, many causes. Amongst them was the desire of Granadine writers and poets to display their skill in copying established patterns, as well as the extent of their learning and acquaintance with the "classics" of Arabic literature as a whole.

However, some Granadine poets, who wrote eulogies abiding by the rules and conventions of the genre, complain of being obliged to follow that inherited style. Ibn al - Ḥājj al-Numairī, a famous eulogist in the court of Muḥammad V, says in the prelude to one of his eulogies in praise of the king that he did not like to start eulogies with love preludes, but was forced to do so, otherwise he would have been disapproved of and highly criticized: (1)

<p>ألا ان مثلي ان تغزل مخطي فتاركه عمداً يذم ويشنأ</p>	<p>أكل مديح بالتغزل يُبندأ كان البهوى فرض على كل مـادح</p>
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(1) Qarā'in, p. 2.

وَعَذِرِي مِنْهَا سَنَةً شَاعِرِيَّةً بِهَا الْهَزْلُ يَا لَلَّهِ بِالْجَدِّ يَهْزَأُ
وَلَيْسَ الْمَدِيحُ الْحَقُّ إِلَّا الَّذِي لَهُ بِغَيْرِ أَضَالِيلٍ التَّغْزِلُ مَبْدَأُ

Ibn al-Khatīb, also, starts one of his congratulatory poems to king Muhammad Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj in 732 / 1331 with a description of wine, urging himself not to start poems by wailing on the abandoned sites of a lover's encampment, or with romantic verses, saying:⁽¹⁾

دُعُ عَنْكَ هَذَا وَالْدْيَارَ وَمِنْ بَهَا وَدُعِ الْغَرَامَ يَكُونُ بَعْضُ عُفَاتِهَا

We should note that this inclination to abandon love preludes is found among some famous Granadine eulogists, who devoted most of their work to praising the Granadine kings. This would show that the eulogy was highly formalised and that its rules had to be perfectly adhered to by the court eulogists. This factor would in turn have subjected Granadine poets to Eastern influences.

It seems, also, that Granadine literature was not influenced by the literature of a particular area or period only. The imitation was a way of showing esteem to the excellent literary compositions of former years, no matter from where these came. Besides imitating early Eastern literary works, many literary compositions in Granada also tried to emulate the patterns laid down by earlier Andalusian writers. Ibn Zamrak, the famous Granadine eulogist,

(1) Diwān Lisān, p. 327.

is described in many sources as: "Khafājiyy al-nazʿa"⁽¹⁾ (i.e. He follows the example of Ibn Khafāja, the Sevillian eleventh century poet who used to describe gardens and the beauty of nature in his poetry). Granadine writers and poets often used the muʿārada (parody) style in their imitation of previous Andalusian poets and writers, especially in compositions dealing with national concerns.⁽²⁾

Granadine Literary critics, did not restrict themselves to pointing out the resemblance between Andalusian and Eastern Arab poets; they also spoke of the affinities between the work of Granadine poets and that of former Andalusian poets. It was on account of this that Ibn Zamrak was likened to Ibn Khafāja, and Abū Yahyā Ibn ʿĀṣim was called Ibn al-Khaṭīb the second.⁽³⁾ One reason for clinging to Eastern Arabic tradition is possibly the fact that the Granadine writers, who had witnessed a period of weakness, decline and ultimate collapse in Arab power in Andalusia, may have wished to recall in this way the glorious past of the Arabs in the East, where their ancestors were writing under conditions of political and military ascendancy. For the same reason they also imitated, previous Andalusian writers who had lived in Andalusia when the Arabs were still powerful and victorious. Granadine

(1) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 303; Nafh, vol. 6, p. 75, vol. 7, p. 147; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 9.

(2) See above, p. 267 and no. 1, p. 243.

(3) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 186.

writers may have also wished to remember the lands of their origin in Arabia, Syria and Iraq, and thus continued to refer to Eastern placenames in their poems. They were living at the distant extremity of the Islamic and Arab world, and they probably had a strong longing for the Arab lands in the East. But, as it was not easy to travel there, they kept recalling the names of towns, places, women and plants of the Eastern lands. Such feelings seem to have become stronger and more obvious as the Granadines anticipated the end of their presence in Spain, which made them look back to their first homeland and remember the glory and dignity which their ancestors maintained there.

These feelings made the love preludes and the elegiac reminiscences of Granadine poems carry profound dimensions quite different from those originally found in the Eastern odes. The preludes of the Granadine poems, although very similar to Eastern preludes, even in repeating the same names of persons and places and in the phraseology used, gained a certain depth of feeling by bringing together the past and the present, and by making the Granadine poet express his nostalgia and sadness through various allusions. Political life in Granada and the decline of Muslim power there, coupled with a quick succession of events all pointing in the same direction, may have caused the Granadines' commitment to inherited literary formulae. Perhaps the quick succession of events gave them no time to change the tradition.

Granadine writers did not merely observe literary conventions. They devoted themselves to the inherited and established rules with utter conformity and regularity. They abided strictly by the conventions of inherited literary genres, and canonized the themes treated in them. The treatment of each literary theme was subjected to arbitrary laws which were observed by Granadine writers as if sacred and inviolable. Standardised formulae, ideas, and often phraseology were adhered to. This phenomenon is obvious in those literary compositions describing Granadine military victories and defeats, as well as in appeals for help against the Spaniards, as has already been pointed out in previous chapters.⁽¹⁾ It is also discernible in literature relating to national and religious occasions and festivities.

Subsidiary poetic categories gradually branched off from the well-known classical and post-classical divisions, and developed their own individual distinctive character. Themes or subsections, with designations like sabūhiyyāt,⁽²⁾

(1) See above, pp. 121, 221 & 299.

(2) Al-sabūhiyyat is a particular form of panegyric poems and muwashshahs starting usually with a description of nature at the time of daybreak and sunrise, and they might have been recited before kings in the morning.

Modern analysts attribute this art to Ibn Zamrak only (see Palencia, p. 166, El Reino de Granada en La época de Muhammad V, by Dr. Aḥmad Mujtār al-Abbādī, p. 194 Madrid, 1973), but it is worth mentioning that Ibn Zamrak learned this form from his shaikh Ibn al-Khaṭīb who wrote similar sabūhiyyāt (For the sabūhiyyāt of Ibn al-Khaṭīb see: Nafh, vol. 7, p. 66 & 86; Diwān Lisān, p. 365. And for the sabūhiyyāt of Ibn Zamrak see: Nafh, vol. 7, p. 207, 239, 246, 249 & 251). There are however many poems and verses written=

‘īdiyyāt,⁽¹⁾ mīlādiyyāt, mawlūdiyyāt,⁽²⁾ i‘dhāriyyāt,⁽³⁾

the congratulation of kings after their recovery from illness, or relieving them on their visits to cities, celebrating the addition of new halls to the Alhambra palace,⁽⁴⁾ The acknowledgement of military and financial aid to Granada, diplomatic letters, and many other subjects appeared as new categories of poetry or prose of an independent character. Each of these was subjected to strict and inviolable rules. Pointing out the distinctive conventions of each one of these subsidiary categories would need a special study, and although the distinctive elements of particular categories such as literature on

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- == on the theme of daybreak and sunrise in early Eastern Arabic poetry, in the Andalusian poetry, and in zajals and muwashshahs written before the Naṣrid era, and in Galician-Portuguese and Castilian literature, in the form of albas and alboradas which were popular in the 13th century in Spain. But none of these are panegyrics and they just associate dawn or sunrise with the drinking of wine, the lovers' meetings, the lovers' separation or waging raids on enemies. Palencia, however, quotes Menéndez Pidal where he suggests that the description of the lovers' separation at dawn in Arabic literature in Spain is an unusual phenomenon in Arabic literature. (Palencia, p. 155).
- (1) Congratulatory poems recited before kings on the occasions of ‘īd al-Fiṭr, ‘īd al-Adhā, and al-Nairūz. For examples of this genre see Ibn al-Jayyāb, pp. 163-168 & 169-170; Diwān Lisān, pp. 231, 267, 401, 405, 429, ...; Qarā'in, p. 50; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 111; Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 171 & 208.
- (2) Congratulatory eulogies written on the occasion of the birth of a prince. See for examples Diwān Lisān, pp. 246 & 579; Qarā'in, p. 9; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 210.
- (3) Poems congratulating kings on the occasion of the circumcision of their sons. For some examples see Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 74 & 81-; Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 183-188, 188-195 & 195-206.
- (4) See examples in Ibn al-Jayyāb, pp. 153, 154 & 156; Diwān Lisān, p. 398; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 216.

victory or defeat, and appeals for help are examined in previous chapters, it is useful to deal in some detail here with one specific category al-mīlādiyyāt and this, it is hoped would help to illustrate similar developments in other categories. This subsection of poetic eulogies refers to those poems which celebrate the anniversary of the birthday of the Prophet Muhammad. This category was not common before the 13th century, when Muslims both in north Africa and Granada started to celebrate the occasion. As mentioned before, celebrations on this occasion were held in many places in Granada, especially in the Alhambra palaces.⁽¹⁾ Part of the celebration entailed the recitation of poems or odes which were known as "mīlādiyyāt" before the Naṣrid kings and the other participants. Many poems were written on this occasion every year, and gradually each year's mīlādiyyāt developed into a reproduction of the mīlādiyyāt of previous years, resulting in the formulation of certain mechanical rules and conventions for the mīlādiyyāt. Every mīlādiyya poem starts with an expression of longing to visit the tomb of the Prophet, and such a prelude is usually full of archaic vocabulary, with references to Arabian towns, and descriptions of journeys on camel back in the desert. Then the poet praises the Prophet for the qualities and virtues he had, tells of his life from birth to death, enumerating his miracles. After that the poet praises the Prophet's family and companions, highlighting their struggle against their enemies and for the sake of Islam. Then the

(1) Katība, p. 252; Ta'rif, p. 881; Azhār, vol.1,p.245, vol. 2, p. 173.

poet digresses to praise the Naṣrid king, usually by saying that the Naṣrid kings of Granada were descendants of the Prophet's supporters, the Anṣār . In another part of each mīlādiyya the poet prays for the Prophet, his family, his companions, and "his later followers," the Naṣrid kings, and then asks the Prophet to intercede with God to help the Granadines in their struggle against the Spaniards. Some mīlādiyyāt also contain a description of the celebrations. Observing all these conventions led to a boring repetition of particular ideas, images, phrases, and commonplaces. The pattern became stereotyped, and each new poem was simply a faithful reproduction of the set pattern.⁽¹⁾

A conspicuous example of the customary adherence to established literary rules in Granadine literature is found in the introductions of diplomatic letters emanating from the Naṣrid court, and addressed to other Muslim rulers. These letters constitute a major part of the literary output of Naṣrid Granada, and they almost all follow one pattern with set formulae and conventions, having only slight differences according to the exact purport of each letter and the rank of the addressee.

Every one of the diplomatic letters sent to Muslim rulers concerning political matters consists of two major

(1) For examples of mīlādiyyāt see Dīwān Lisān, pp. 367, 388, 471 & 479; Qara'in, pp. 36 & 57; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 96-; Nafh, vol. 7, p. 179,

parts: a conventional introduction, followed by the main business of the letter. The introduction was almost always designed to accord with the main subject, so much so that one could discern the main purpose of any letter by reading its introduction only. But, despite the variation in the introductions according to the subject - matter, the writers did not try to overstep certain conventions of the set formulae. The introduction itself had to be divided into several sections. The first of these contained the name of the sender (when the letter was sent to the Granadine people or Granadine officials) or the name of the addressee (when the letter was sent to kings, rulers or other important persons). The names of the addressees, when they were rulers or other eminent people, were usually preceded by honorific titles varying according to the rank of the ruler. All letters sent to north African kings started with the names of those kings preceded by the word "al-maqām" (i.e. The owner of dignity...). This opening formula was always followed by praises and the honorific titles of the addressee; then came fulsome mention of the addressee's favours to Granada and Islam. If he were the same age as the sender, he was usually addressed as "maḥalla akḥīnā" (i.e. in the same status as our brother), and, if he were older than the sender, as "maḥalla wālīdīnā" (i.e. in the same status as our father). Were he younger than the sender he was usually called "maḥalla waladīnā" (i.e. in the same status as our son). This section was usually followed by well-wishing and

a lengthy list of the honorific titles of the addressee and those of his fathers and ancestors. This part usually occupied at least half a page. After that came the name of the Nasrid king on whose behalf the letter was written, preceded by the formula "mu'azzimi qadrihī" (i.e. who praises (your) dignity) and followed with some prayers for the sender. This emphasis on the name of the addressee, as well as the prayers for his well-being, the apportionment of honorific titles to him and his ancestors, and the practice of giving him the same status as the closest relatives of the sender, were formulae deliberately used in the hope that they would help to secure military aid for Granada from the king who would receive the letter, or at least reflect the need of Granada for such help from the monarch concerned.

The second section of these introductions was devoted to the praise of God and the Prophet Muḥammad. It started with the formula "ammā ba'da ḥamdillāh" (i.e. and then after praising God), followed by an enumeration of reasons for His being worthy of praise. These reasons were mostly derived from the subject-matter of the letter. The praise of God is always followed by praise of the Prophet and his family and companions, using traditional expressions such as "wassalātu wassalāmu 'alā sayyidinā wa mawlānā.." (i.e. blessings and peace be upon our Lord...). The praise of the Prophet took up more than half a page, and, as in

all sections of the introductions; was designed to be in harmony with the purpose of the letter. The next section of the introduction contained the name of the city from which the letter was despatched, preceded by the conventional expression "fa innā katabnāhu ilaykūm, kataba Allāhu lakum .." (i.e. and we wrote it to you, may God grant you...), and well-wishings for the addressee. After this the writer of the letter would pray to God for the protection of the city or place from which the correspondence was sent. This formula was usually followed by a description of the general feelings of the Muslim community in that place. When he came to deal with the main purpose of his letter the writer generally used the formula "wa ilā hādhā" (i.e. until this) again adding some good wishes and prayers for the addressee, though fewer in number than those at the beginning. Shortly before the main subject is introduced one always finds the formula "fa innā katabnāhu ilaykum..." (i.e. we wrote it to you...).(1)

These conventional preambles are observed in almost every introduction to Granadine diplomatic letters, and in the same sequence. Such introductions usually comprised at least two pages. These conventions of the period are investigated in detail, with examples, by al-Qalqashandī (1355-1418) in his authoritative work on composition named Subh al-A'shā fī Sinā'at al-Inashā.(2)

(1) For examples on this characteristic see the letters in Kunāsāt al-Dukkān, Raihanāt al-Kuttāb and Nufādat al-Jirāb of Ibn al-Khatīb:

(2) See Subh, vol. 5, pp. 491 & 493, vol. 7, pp. 39, 45, 47, 53, 56, 60, 62, 66, 70 & 99.

Many of these letters carry the name of the messenger with whom they were sent, and the date on which the letter was written.

The conventional patterns and sequence of themes in these letters have been discussed in the previous chapters on Granadine victories, defeats and appeals for help. Many aspects of this mode of belles-lettres were known in the pre-Nasrid era in Andalusian and Eastern Arabic literature, but in Nasrid Granada they gained emphasis and regularity and seem to have some distinctive features. By virtue of the long time he served in the Nasrid court as secretary, minister, and prime minister in the reigns of three Nasrid kings (Muhammad IV, Yūsuf I, and Muhammad V), Ibn al-Khatīb composed a great number of letters, many of them still preserved. Because of this he was described by critics, historians, contemporary writers, and even modern scholars as the greatest of letter-writers, and the complete master of that literary mode.⁽¹⁾ But most of the particular elements of this literary genre are seen clearly, first of all, in such early Eastern Arabic literature as the prose of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd

(1) See: Nykl, p. 363; Brockelmann, History of the Islamic peoples, pp. 214-215; Nathir Farā'id, p. 243; ‘Ibar, vol. 7, p. 689; Diwān Lisān, pp. 126-130; the editor's introduction of Rihlat al-Balawī, vol. 1, pp. 98-101; Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 24-28 & pp. 164-165 & vol. 7, p. 17; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 191; al-Fann wa Madhāhibuhū, pp. 172-174; Tatawwur, pp. 308 & 313; Udaba' al-‘Arab, p. 94; Nicholson, p. 436....

al-Kātib, al-Qādī al-Fādīl, al-‘Imād al-Isfahānī and others, then, secondly, in all Arab countries in the 13th-15th century, and finally in Andalusian literature of the pre-Nasrid era. It may be said, therefore, that the belles-lettres mode practised by Ibn al-Khaṭīb was but a common genre practised by most of his contemporary men of letters, and that Ibn al-Khaṭīb imitated the prose of his shaikhs and teachers such as Ibn al-Ḥakīm and Ibn al-Jayyāb,⁽¹⁾ as well as other earlier men of letters in Granada. A comparison between any of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's letters and those written earlier in the Nasrid era shows that Ibn al-Khaṭīb was highly committed to an inherited mode of letter-writing, and that he did not make any noteworthy modification in the rules he found already established by earlier writers. He says, when speaking of his shaikh and predecessor in the vizierate of Granada, Ibn al-Jayyāb, that his letters were mutawwalāt (i.e. elaborate).⁽²⁾ This would mean that the elaborateness of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's letters also was an imitation of the style so characteristic of his shaikh's work. Letters similar to those of Ibn al-Khaṭīb are to be found also in the pre-Nasrid period, such as the letters of Ibn ‘Amīra⁽³⁾ and Ibn al-Abbār.⁽⁴⁾ In his long waṣiyya (i.e. counsel) to his sons,⁽⁵⁾

(1) See for example a letter written by Ibn al-Jayyāb in:

Nafh, vol. 5, p. 458.

(2) Nafh, vol. 5, p. 445.

(3) Subh, vol. 7, pp. 91-99.

(4) Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 496-499; Rawd, pp. 52-54.

(5) Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 391-405.

Ibn al-Khatīb seems also to have imitated very closely the wasiyya of Ibn al-Jannān on behalf of prince Ibn Hūd, the last Granadine prince before the Nasrid dynasty.⁽¹⁾

IV- The Pervasive Influence of Political and Martial Life

In earlier chapters the influences upon literature of the political and martial life of Nasrid Granada were discussed in some detail. Further examination of the literature of the period shows that such influences affected all literary genres and themes without exception, since all aspects of life, social, architectural, economic, cultural and literary, were subject to similar forces. This would explain what Ibn Zarqāla meant by saying that although the literature of Granada followed the inherited old conventions, it was mainly a reaction to the surrounding environment of the country.⁽²⁾

Literary compositions relating to political and military life in Nasrid Granada formed a major part of the literary output of the period. The quantitative size of this literature in the Nasrid era seems to have been larger than that of similar literature in any previous literary period in Andalusia, because, it seems, the political concerns of the Granadines were so much more intense in the Nasrid era

(1) Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 407-414.

(2) Ra'iq, p. 27.

than in previous periods. In prose we find that the epistolary genre was strongly influenced by such aspects of national life, and that most of the letters which emanated from Granada, whether official or personal, spoke of political matters. As has been mentioned before, the styles and conventions of these letters were related in one way or another to the political background. The khutba genre, the second best known prose genre after the epistolary, also concentrated on political matters, since the khutba was used to urge people to war, or to broadcast political announcements.

In addition, the introductions and conclusions of books are noticeably of a political nature.

The maqāma genre was also used for political purposes; of this type is the Maqāmat al-Siyāsa of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, and his maqāma Khaṭrat al-Taif, in which he describes an inspection tour by him and his King Yūsuf I. Many political allusions and implications can be found in most of the Granadine maqāmas.

Even the waṣiyya (commandment) could not avoid the influence of the political and martial environment, and that appears clearly in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's waṣiyya written for his sons, and in the waṣiyya of King Muḥammad I Ibn al-Aḥmar for his son and heir Muḥammad II. The accounts of

Pilgrimages, too, recorded political events in Granada, and discussed political matters.⁽¹⁾

Prose inscriptions on the tombstones of Granadine kings and notables speak mostly of the political and martial achievements and careers of those buried there.

In poetry, too, themes, style and phraseology were influenced by political and martial life. The themes of Granadine eulogies concentrated on political elements in praise of victorious kings, urging them in almost every case to wage war on the Spaniards and achieve victories against them. However, no Granadine eulogy could avoid praising the king for his political and military capacity. Satire in Granadine literature also drew its inspiration from political events. Poets satirized traitors, enemies and opponents of the government.

In elegy there are laments over the death and assassination of Granadine kings, viziers, commanders of the army and soldiers, and over fallen cities. These elegies concentrated on the loss of the valiant leader who defeated his enemies, invaded their lands and was determined to keep on invading them. Even ghazal themes were not exempt from the effects of political life; military phrases and

(1) See example in Battūta, p. 668.

images exist in love poems, because the Granadine poets often likened romantic attitudes and developments to warfare, and because the language of the country and commonplace phraseology were greatly influenced by the long military conflict between Granada and the neighbouring Spanish states.⁽¹⁾ In addition, the ghazal and descriptions of wine were used in a symbolic way to convey political implications and innuendos as in many of Yūsuf III's poems. In vainglorious poetry, poets used to boast of their courage and steadfastness on the battlefield.⁽²⁾ Religious and Sufi poetry also conveyed political allusions and implications. Descriptive poetry, too, dealt with new military developments in Granada. Such poems described battles, soldiers, armies, weapons, horses, the tournaments of chivalry, guns and gunpowder, and similar military matters. The urjūza⁽³⁾ was used to record historical events, as did Ibn al-Khaṭīb in his works entitled Raḡm al-Hulal,⁽⁴⁾ and Qaṭ' al-Sulūk.⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) For example see Nathīr Farā'id, pp. 234 and 302; Dīwān Lisān, p. 345; Durar, vol. 1, p. 93.
- (2) See Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 546; Dīwān Yūsuf, pp. 3-4, 6, 17 and 21...
- (3) Urjūza is usually a lengthy poetic composition in the rajaz metre.
- (4) This urjūza was published in Tunisia in 1316 A.H./1898 A.D. Muhammad Mazālī, in an article entitled "Al-Butūla Kamā Yuṣawwiruhā al-Adab al-ʿArabī fi al-Andalus wa Shamāl Ifrīqiya," and published in Al-Fikr periodical (Issue no. 5, February 1959 pp. 22-33) suggests that Raḡm al-Hulal of Ibn al-Khaṭīb was inspired by a similar work of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbiḥī, in which the latter wrote 450 verses in the rajaz metre describing the military campaigns of the Umayyad caliph in Cordova ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir (912-961 A.D.) (see p. 24 of the above mentioned article).
- (5) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 396.

The muwashshah and zajal genres were also used to describe battles, celebrate Granadine victories, and praise the victorious Nasrid kings for their valour, courage and determination.

It was not literary genres, styles and themes only that were affected by political and martial events in Nasrid Granada; literary taste as well seems to have been affected by those factors. Poems and other literary works dealing with the Granadine-Spanish conflict were highly regarded by Granadine critics and anthologists. Most of these compositions were referred to frequently by such phrases as "the famous poem"⁽¹⁾ or "the famous letter ", because they reflected the Granadines' consciousness of the political life they were experiencing. Poems such as the elegies of Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī, Ibn al-Abbār, Ibn al-Murābiṭ, Ibn al-Muraḥḥal and others were frequently imitated by succeeding Granadine writers, an indication of the fascination these works held for later writers, and of the extent to which those poems were considered suitable in form to express different, but similar, circumstances. Moreover, the Granadine people would learn such poems by heart. There was also another type of literature that fascinated the Granadines; that is, religious literature⁽²⁾

(1) For examples see Mu'nis, p. 126; Nuzha, p. 118; Nafh, vol. 3, pp. 303-304 & Diwan Yusuf, p. 195.

(2) I refer here to those writings which made a point of praising God and the Prophet Muhammad and in general enjoined people to lead a pious way of life. Of course Sufi literature was likewise appreciated on a popular level.

to which almost every Granadine writer seems to have contributed. The people, again, would learn such religious poems by heart.⁽¹⁾ The reason for that, perhaps, is the way this literature reflected the Granadines' Sufism,^(*) to which they turned after the decline of their political and social life. Granadine literature was coloured by both pessimism and Sufism, and it was empty of the light-hearted spirit and sense of humour which characterized Andalusian literature in previous periods. It mostly conveys the sufferings and fears of the Granadine people throughout two centuries and a half of hard conflict with the powerful Spaniards. This literature described the fall of Muslim cities to the Spaniards, and the death of many people, on the battlefield, through plagues and as a result of domestic strife, as well as the sad feelings of those who abandoned their cities and fields, and of those who were exiled or ill-treated by the government, and many other tragedies and calamities. These misfortunes left no opportunity for Granadine writers to describe fun and pleasures. Their literature, therefore, became an echo of the people's sadness, despair and fear for the future. Thus the state of the nation enriched the literature of religious interests. Moreover, we find many religious phrases and expressions occurring in the political and martial literature of Granada; this is perhaps

(1) See for example Dīwān Lisān, p. 380; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 134.

(*) See note 2, p. 442 below.

due to the writers' association of political life with religion and because Granadine writers viewed the Granadine -Spanish conflict as being of a religious nature.⁽¹⁾ Other reasons, of course, could be the religious learning, culture and knowledge of the Granadine writers, which made them use Quranic verses, hadīths of the Prophet, and references to events in Muslim history in their literary compositions.

V- Granadine Literary Language and Grammatical Solecisms

At this stage of our study it is important to consider the language and diction of Granadine literature.

Granadine written Arabic, such as that used in literature, was relatively simple, with fewer archaisms than the literary language of previous periods. Ibn al - Qāḍī reports that the diwān of Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Abī Bakr al-Qaisī was not available in any of the book - keepers' libraries, because the author tended to use far - fetched and unusual terms.⁽²⁾ This anecdote indicates the Granadine tendency to use simplified language. This simplicity is an obvious characteristic of Granadine literature, despite the fact that Granadine writers used to imitate early Arabic literature. Such simplicity is most seen in literature addressed to the common people concerning political and martial events, because such

(1) See pp. 127-141 above.

(2) Durra, vol. 1, p. 132.

events concerned everybody in Granada, and therefore had to be discussed in simple and understandable language.

Literature in Granada was written in both colloquial and standard Arabic. The popular zajal was written, as Ibn Khaldūn says, in colloquial language and in the fifteen Arabic poetic metres. Some prose, too, was written in the colloquial language, such as Hadā'iq al-Azāhir of Ibn 'Āsim.

On the other hand, literary compositions written in standard Arabic may be seen to contain many examples of linguistic and grammatical incorrectness. The main reason for this is the great interest in rhymed prose and the necessity to adhere to the exigencies of the poetical metres and rhyme in poetry. Ṣāliḥ Ibn Sharīf al-Rundī allowed himself a rather inadmissible poetic license in a verse in praise of King Muḥammad I, where he used "mirār" instead of mirāran in the rhyme position:⁽¹⁾

فَإِنْ شَكَرْنَا فَضْلَهُ مَرَّةً فَقَدْ سَكِرْنَا مِنْ نَدَاهُ مِرَارًا

In order not to violate the metre Ibn Zamrak used form IV of the verb Awā instead of form I in the following verse:⁽²⁾

أَبَاؤُنَ الْأَنْصَارُ تِلْكَ شَعَارُهُمْ فَلَحَّيْتُهُمْ آوَى النَّبِيِّ الْمُصْطَفَى

He also often uses the triptote inflection of a noun instead of the diptote inflection (although this is an

(1) Nafh, vol. 4, p. 490.

(2) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 209.

allowable license which was often encountered in classical poetry) such as the words "fawārisan" and "ʿajāʿiban" in the verses: (1)

وأثرت فيه للطرادِ فوارساً مثلَ الشُّموسِ وجوهُهُمْ تتَهَلَّلُ
أبديتَ من حُسنِ الصَّنِيعِ عجائباً تُروى على مرِّ الزَّمانِ وتُثَقَّلُ

Such breaches of syntax exemplified here from Ibn Zamrak's poetry are to be found in many Granadine literary compositions of the time. Ibn Zamrak also used the word "annahā" instead of "an" to avoid impairing the metre in the following verse, which refers to his poem: (2)

خَيْرَتُهَا بَيْنَ الْمُنى فَوَجَدْتُهَا أَقْصَى مَنَاهَا أَنْهَا تُتَقَبَّلُ

Ibn al-Khatīb's writings were also not free of such solecisms; he pluralised the word qasīr as "qisār" instead of qisār in the following verse: (3)

لله قومك آل نصر والقنا قَصْرٌ وَأَجْسَامُ الْعِدَا أَشْـلَـاءُ

He used the separable conjunction "aw" instead of "wa" when referring to the day of the battle of Tarifa: (4)

وَرَمَيْتَ دِينَ اللَّهٍ مِنْكَ بِفَادِحٍ عَمَّ الْبَسِيطَةُ مَشْرِقاً أَوْ مَغْرِباً

He also changed the word al-Muslimīn into "al-Musilmīn" in the following verse for metrical exigency: (5)

أَقَمْتَ لِمِيلَادِ الرَّسُولِ شَعَائِراً بِهَا اللَّهُ عَنْ ذَنْبِ الْمُسْلِمِينَ صَافِحُ

(1) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 213.

(2) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 215.

(3) Diwān Lisān, p. 233.

(4) Diwān Lisān, p. 251.

(5) Diwān Lisān, p. 370.

King Yūsuf III committed similar errors; he used the word "ubal" instead of ubāli in the verse: (1)

تَجِدُنِيْ مَقْدَامًا عَلَى السَّهْلِ لَمْ أَبْلُ بِمَا جَمَعُوا أَوْ عَدَّوْا مِنْ مَقَانِبِ

He also used the words "rawdun arīdun" in the nominative case where they should be rawdān arīdān, in the accusative: (2)

أَوَلَيْسَتْ الْأَنْبَاءُ عَنْ أَخْبَارِنَا رَوْضُ أَرِيضٍ بِالْعَبِيرِ مُضْمَخٌ

In the verse which reads (3)

نَمَتْنَا الصِّيدُ مِنْ أَبْنَاءِ نَصْرِ وَرَمْنَا إِلَّا مِثْلَهُ لَا يُسْرَامُ

he uses the relative pronoun "allā'i" instead of alladhī. The plural form of "al-ma'luāt", which seems unusual, has been used in the poetry of many Granadine poets.

In one of his verses Ibn Zamrak says in praise of Banū Naṣr: (4)

إِنْ لَوْحِظُوا فِي الْمَعْلُوَاتِ فَإِنَّهُمْ طَلَعُوا بِآفَاقِ الْعِلَاءِ بُدُورًا

Ibn al-Khaṭīb uses the same word when addressing King Yūsuf I: (5)

إِمَامَ الْهُدَى يَا خَيْرَ مَنْ بَدَّلَ اللَّهُ شَادَتِ عَلَيْهِ الْمَعْلُوَاتُ الصَّرَائِحُ

This word is used also by Ibn al-Hājj al-Numairī, when praising King Muhammad V: (6)

وَإِذَا تُجَازِ الْمَعْلُوَاتُ فَإِنَّهُ أَبْدَأَ لَهُ الْمِرْيَاعُ مِنْهَا وَالصَّفِ

... etc.

(1) Diwān Yūsuf, p. 6.

(2) Diwān Yūsuf, p. 37.

(3) Diwān Yūsuf, p. 37.

(4) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 176.

(5) Diwān Lisān p. 370.

(6) Qarā'in, p. 52.

There are also many examples of violation of the metre in poetry. Abū Muḥammad Ibn al-Murābi⁶ consoles Ibn al-Khaṭīb after the death of his father and elder brother in the battle of Tarifa in 741/1340 saying:⁽¹⁾

قَدَرُ جَرَى فِي الْخَلْقِ لَا يَجِدُ امْرُؤٌ عَمَّا جَرَتْ بِهِ الْمَقَادِرُ مَهْرًا
.....
لَا كَانَ يَوْمُهَا الْكَرْهُ فَكَمْ وَكَمْ فِيهِ الْمُجَلِّي وَالْمُصَلِّي قَدْ كَبَا

He would have avoided impairing the metre in the first verse by using "fīhi" instead of "bihi". He also would have avoided impairing the metre of the second verse by saying hādithahā instead of "yawmahā".

Similarly, in the following verse of Ibn al - Khaṭīb:⁽²⁾

خَلِيفَةُ مِنْ صَمِيمِ الْعُرْبِ دَوَّحَتْهُ فِيهَا أَنْتَهَى الْمَجْدُ مُسْتَوْفَى وَمِنْهَا بُدِي

The metre can only be rectified by reading the final long vowel in "minhā" as a short vowel, "minha". There is also a violation of the poetical metre in the following verse inscribed on a wall of the Alhambra palace:

وَمِنْ قَبْلِهَا اسْتَفْتَحَتْ عَشْرِينَ مَعْقَلًا وَصَيَّرَتْ مَا فِيهَا لَجِيوشَكَ مَغْنَمًا

The poet would have avoided impairing the metre by saying lijayshika instead of "lijuyūshika".*

(1) Diwān Lisān, p. 49.

(2) Diwān Lisān, p. 409.

(*) Adler comments on the Arabic language in Spain and says that it "lost so much of its native purity as gradually to degenerate into an ungrammatical dialect...". (Adler, p. 25).



Another verse from the poem mentioned above (pp. 169, 212 & 214)
and inscribed on the walls of "El Patio de los Arroyanos".
It reads:

وصيرت ما فيها لجيوشك مغنما

ومن قبلها استفتحت عشرين محقلا

The effect of constant warfare in Granada meant that many Arabic words acquired martial and political denotations and emphasis which gradually replaced their original meanings. The word "fath", for example, can mean "opening", as well as to pronounce or vocalise with the vowel "a", but in Nasrid Granada it mostly meant "conquest or triumph". The word "haraka" mostly meant "military action"; the word "tāghiya" was a reference to "any Spanish king, or even any Christian king". The word "thaghr" was mostly a reference to "the frontier"... etc.

The Granadines developed and used their own meanings of Arabic words besides the original denotations or connotations attaching to them. For example, we can take the root "sana'a" and trace various meanings of its derivatives as they are encountered in Granadine writing and literature:

<u>sun'a</u>	- Mostly used to indicate God's intercession in the Granadine - Spanish conflict for the benefit of the Granadines.
<u>sani'a</u>	- Mostly meant the celebrations held by Granadine kings for their people.
<u>masna'a</u>	- Was only used to mean a palace or luxurious house, and not a factory.
<u>sinā'a</u>	- Meant "science" or "art".
<u>musāna'a</u>	- Mostly meant "collaboration with enemies". ... etc.

The character of the political and military environment of Granada remained generally unchanged throughout two centuries and a half. This made Granadine writers resort to the use of stereotyped and commonplace phrases with

specified meanings, in order to deal with similar political events. A Muslim defeat, for instance, was usually called "tamhīs" as a reference to God's trial of the faithful, while a Spanish victory was usually called "imlā'", as a reference to a changeable chance. The choice of words in literary compositions relating to the Granadine-Spanish conflict was based mainly on the writers' attitudes and feelings towards the conflict, and significant conclusions can therefore be drawn from the diction of those compositions.

As a result of the contact between the Granadines and the Spaniards in times both of war and peace, many Spanish words were used in Granadine literary compositions. For example, words such as Moor⁽¹⁾ (Muslims of Granada and north Africa), farantīra (frontier), balās⁽²⁾ (palace) and many others, are found in Granadine writings.

(1) Diwān Hāzim, p. 62 (Beirut, 1964).
(2) See Qarā'in, p. 40.

Conclusion

From all the material investigated in the earlier chapters we may conclude that Granadine literature which dealt with political events, and which constituted the major part of literary output in Nasrid Granada, is almost always ceremonial and occasional literature. It was not written on political occasions only, but on other social and religious occasions and festivities as well. This phenomenon reveals how much other spheres of life in Nasrid Granada were affected by political occurrences there. In other words, political concerns in Nasrid Granada haunted the Granadine people even at times of public celebration and entertainment. Just as military victories, defeats and other related events in Nasrid Granada prompted literary reactions, panegyrics and, congratulatory and consolatory poems and orations recited before Nasrid kings on the various social and religious occasions could never, it would seem, steer clear of political themes or nagging political concerns. Granadine victories, Granadine defeats, Spanish attacks against Granada, the accession of a Nasrid king to the throne, the death of a Nasrid king, wedding celebrations in the Alhambra palace, the birth of a Nasrid prince or circumcision of a royal child, a military review, the anniversary of the Prophet's birthday, 'Īd al-Fitr, 'Īd al - Adhā, 'Īd al-Nairūz, the king's return from a hunting trip

or his recovery from illness, and the king's arrival at any city in the state of Granada, together with many similar occurrences were all occasions on which literary compositions were produced in which political concerns or anxieties were directly or indirectly echoed.

The reason for such a close connection between politics and other aspects of social life is that Granada in the Nasrid era witnessed a crucial and prolonged conflict with the Spaniards which lasted for two and a half centuries and ended with the fall of the last Muslim state in Spain in 1492.

The long-drawn conflict was, to the Granadines, a permanent and ever-imminent threat. It preoccupied the thoughts of the ordinary Granadine people as well as the rulers and learned men of the country. The political consciousness was both intense and universal. The Granadines achieved some military victories over the Spaniards, but they also suffered military reverses, lost their lands and cities, and gradually fell into a state of weakness and desperation. Meanwhile, brilliant Granadine men of literature were occupying high governmental offices, as prime ministers, viziers, ambassadors and commanders of the army. Moreover, Nasrid kings, too, wrote poetry and were patrons of literature.

As high governmental posts were invariably granted to the literati, and as men of letters were inevitably politically conscious the interaction between literature and political life was, in turn, natural and inevitable. Distinguished Granadine poets and men of letters such as Ibn al-Ḥakīm, Ibn al-Jayyāb, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, Ibn Zamrak, Ibn 'Āsim, King Yūsuf III and many others, were, therefore, close observers of political events, and even war correspondents. Besides possessing a high degree of awareness of the details of Granada's political and martial events they were often eyewitnesses of and participants in many of these events. Their literary compositions, therefore, provide fresh, contemporary documentation of events which makes this literature of great historical value. This literature also played a propagandist role; its authors dealt with political events in a way which was intended to serve the cause of their nation, thus contributing to the mutual influence between literature and politics in Nasrid Granada.

In the literary compositions dealing with Granadine military victories over the Spaniards, the interaction between literature and politics takes many forms. First of all we have the great number of literary works describing these victories in detail, and they form a substantial portion of the Granadine literary output. Granadine poets and men of letters described these victories with great

jubilant and exaggeration, taking the opportunity after every victory to encourage Granadine rulers and to egg them on to achieve further victories. The writers also took advantage of the victories to raise morale among the Granadine people, by telling them that they were still capable of beating the Spaniards and halting the constant threat of their attacks. Previous Muslim Andalusian or Granadine victories against the enemy, and the dream of final victory against the Spaniards were always recalled before the Granadine rulers and people to urge them to make supreme efforts to achieve further triumphs. Victories were stressed, since such encouragement would serve the Granadine cause. This explains why literary compositions relating to Granadine military victories are longer than those dealing with Granadine defeats, despite the fact that the political situation in Nasrid Granada was characterized by a steady decline towards complete collapse. The encouraging contribution stemming from Granadine victories was not confined to literary works dealing with these victories; many other poetic categories were affected too. Eulogy, elegy and vainglorious poetry referred to these victories as the merits and virtues of the conquerors.

The relationship between literature and political life in Nasrid Granada is also clear from the appeals for aid written by Granadine poets and men of letters. Firstly,

Granada's critical position, situated as it was between determined enemies pressing from three directions, needed the co-operation of the Granadine and other Muslim peoples in shouldering the responsibility of putting a stop to the Spanish threat to Islam in Granada, and to avert the fall of the last Muslim state in Spain. A great number of appeals, in both poetry and prose, were written by Granadine writers, and were addressed to the Granadine people and to other Muslims and their rulers. Many of these appeals achieved their aim of securing considerable support from neighbouring Muslim countries, and of attracting many volunteers from all over north Africa and Granada. The success of the literary compositions in moving people to action was apparently due to the tactics adopted by Granadine writers. These writers spared no method or means of encouragement as they tried to excite both the humane and religious feelings of the Muslim people. On the humane side, they talked constantly about the harm inflicted upon Muslim women, children, the elderly, and on Granadine captives. They spoke of beautiful Muslim women in captivity, about women who had lost their husbands, and about children who had lost their parents or were deprived of them, and who were terrorised by the Spaniards. On the religious side, the Granadine writers spoke in their appeals of mosques converted into churches, of church-bells which resounded in mosques instead of Muslim calls to prayer by the muezzins,

and even about wine and pigs brought into these mosques by priests. They also reminded Muslims of the Quranic verses, hadīths of the Prophet Muḥammad, and the sayings of the early Muslim jurists on the duty of jihād.

Neither did the writers of these appeals fail to mention the benefits of jihād; they focussed attention on its various attractions: the promise of Paradise, the grace of God, the houris, booty, and other benefits, which result from either martyrdom or a victorious return.

The writers of these appeals used many other clever means to make Muslims sympathize with their co-religionists in Granada. For example, they would portray Spanish hostility against Granada as being of a religious nature. In describing Granada and its people they used such sad phrases as al-quṭr al-gharīb (i.e. the forlorn country) and al-'umma al-munqati'a (i.e. the isolated nation). They used to complain about the position of Granada, situated as it was between merciless enemies and a stormy sea; about the small numbers of the Granadine people in comparison with the numerous Spaniards, and about the support of Christian countries for the Spaniards.

The style of these appeals had to be simple and understandable by ordinary people, and it was based mainly on the repetition of emotive phrases. In one of his works

on warfare and chivalry, Ibn Hudhail describes some literary tactics which can profitably be used when urging people on or appealing to them for help.⁽¹⁾

It can be said therefore that the supplicatory genre in Granadine literature represents the most notable outcome of the interaction between literature and political life in that state. These supplicatory compositions were the result of Granadine weakness, and the need for military assistance.

The literary works relating to Granadine military defeats represent another literary form that shows the relationship of literature to political life. Granadine military defeats resulted in a number of literary descriptions of them, lamenting the lost Muslim cities and the Muslim victims of those defeats. On the other hand, Granadine writers reacted to these defeats by writing appeals for help; by urging the Granadine people to prepare for revenge; by saying that the defeat was decreed by God, who nevertheless would not disappoint His people; by playing down these defeats and their consequences and by telling people that they were but passing misfortunes and the result of the ups and downs of war. They also tried to find justifications for these defeats and to derive lessons from them. Granadine writers avoided

(1) Tuhfa, p. 32.

paying too much attention to those defeats so as not to weaken the people's morale; thus the number of literary works relating to defeats is considerably small, unlike the literary compositions relating to Granadine victories. This difference emphasized the propagandist role played by literature in Granada's struggle against the Spaniards.

In the light of Spanish determination to recover Granada, and the political decline of that state in the Nasrid era, Granadine writers anticipated the fall of that last Muslim state in Spain. They pointed out that danger in their literature, and urged people to be alert, to take preventive action, to stop domestic strife and direct their energies to oppose the encroaching danger.

As the state of Granada fell to the Spaniards in 1492, a number of long literary compositions were written on that event by those Granadine writers who witnessed it. Literary works relating to the fall of Granada contain pathetic laments over that city, descriptions of events connected with its fall, and justifications and explanations of that historical turning point. Despite the entire fall of Granada, Granadine writers continued to urge people towards jihād, reminding them of their dear city, its beauty, its mosques, schools, gardens, parks, industries, and the social, religious and educational customs which

would be abolished. The writers compared the city before its fall with its state afterwards, with particular reference to the differences of feeling among its Muslim people in each case. The fate of the state's men, women, children, old people, learned men and other ranks of people was stressed, and used as an incitement to holy war against the Spaniards. The African rulers were also warned by Granadine writers of the danger approaching their coasts. The literature recommended that north African countries should forestall that danger, and Granadine writers also suggested that the Granadines' remoteness from the principles of Islam and their preoccupation with their internal conflict led to the disaster; the solution for that, they pointed out, was repentance before God. Granadine literature raised the hope among Granadine people that Granada would be recovered again by the Muslims.

The relationship between literature and political life in Nasrid Granada is evident also in the qualities of Granadine literature. Political factors contributed to certain literary characteristics, and the inherited literary traditions of Nasrid Granada seem to have developed into formulae of diplomatic fashions. Poets could not expect to be excused were they to write eulogies for their kings without the eulogic conventions, such as starting the poem with a ghazal or a description of wailing at ruins, and praising the king for his courage, generosity and noble

origin, and other such conventions. Men of letters were also not to be excused for writing diplomatic letters without lengthening them and using rhetorical embellishment, or following the traditional introductory formulae. The political aspects of Granadine life affected the character of Granadine literature, in which a touch of sadness and of Sufism can be observed. This resulted from the political decline in the country and the continuous sufferings of the Granadine people through the lengthy Granadine-Spanish conflict. Literary phraseology in Granada was also affected by political events, so that many martial and political phrases are to be found in various literary genres, and many terms gained political and martial interpretations which obscured their other meanings. Even the Granadine common literary taste seems to have been affected by political life, since many of the poems written on political subjects were favoured by the Granadine people and were reported to have been learnt by heart.

Finally, we may conclude that Granadine literature, despite the individualistic interests of Granadine writers, and despite its shortcomings, was devoted mainly to dealing with the state's problems, especially in the political field, and was thereby necessarily remarkably affected by the political life of the state. A close examination even of the inscriptions on tombs in Nasrid Granada will show that they too were coloured by the political situation.

A P P E N D I X
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Social Life In Nasrid Granada (1238-1492)
As Revealed In Arabic Literature

The Population of Granada

Granadine society constituted several races and religious communities in the Nasrid era. Among these were the Arab families who had settled there before the emergence of Nasrid rule. Most of these Arab families traced their lineage to a Yemenite origin. After the fall of the Muslim cities in Andalusia and the sweeping victories of the Spaniards there, great numbers of the Muslim inhabitants in the north had fled to Granada or had been exiled there, multiplying the size of the population of the city and affecting the structure of the population. Three hundred thousand men, women and children, it is reported, were exiled from Valencia alone to Granada.⁽¹⁾ Those refugees and exiles carried with them to Granada many of their scientific, cultural and mental talents and interests, by which they added to the greatness of Granada.⁽²⁾ Many of them lived in the Albaicín district of Granada, and their settlements were often referred to as shelters of thieves, and rebels against the government.⁽³⁾

(1) Mc Cabe, p. 161.

(2) Manāhij, vol. 2, p. 188 & Reconquest, p. 162.

(3) Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 459, 460 & 387, Nafh, vol. 4, p. 517.

Africans also formed a major part of the population of Granada. Referring to the Granadine people Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:⁽¹⁾ " وفيهم من البربر والمهاجرة كثير " (There are among them great numbers of Berbers and refugees). Many of these Berbers had lived in Granada for a long time before the Naṣrid era, that is during the Zīrid, Almoravide and Almohade periods. Many others came to Granada during the Naṣrid period to take part in the Granadines' struggle against the Spanish attacks on the kingdom of Granada. They came to Granada in the form of detachments from the regular Moroccan army, or as volunteers⁽²⁾ incited by successive appeals for help from Granada to the African people. They established in Granada what was known as Mashyakhat al-Ghuzāt, a military organization intended primarily to deal with their affairs. The commanders of the volunteers, who were appointed directly from Morocco and were members of the Moroccan ruling family, were later delegated at times to lead the whole Granadine army. At the same time the Naṣrid kings of Granada granted several ports to the Moroccans to be used as military bases. Among these were Tarifa, Gibraltar, Algeciras and Marbella.⁽³⁾ Some sources say that most of the Granadine army consisted of Africans.⁽⁴⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, however, speaks of the Granadine army saying:⁽⁵⁾

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- (1) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 134 & Lamha, p. 38.
 - (2) Ibar, vol. 4, p. 374 & vol. 7, p. 239.
 - (3) See: Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 452-454, Baṭṭūṭa, p. 667, Conde, p. 168 & Scott, p. 469.
 - (4) Subh, vol. 5, p. 271, Masālik/Andalus, p. 43.
 - (5) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 136 & Lamha, p. 39 (translated in: Moorish Spain, p. 136).

"The army is divided into two classes: the warriors of Granada and the recruits from Africa. The African cohorts are made up of various peoples. They are divided into groups under the command of their own captains who come under the authority of a superior officer, normally a nobleman and close relative of the kings of fez....". Granada's proximity to Africa led to an exchange of peoples between the two countries, and made malcontents in both Granada and Morocco seek shelter in the other country. This was one of the conspicuous reasons for the frequent disputes between Granada and Morocco, Granada's most effective ally.⁽¹⁾

The muwalladūn (Muslims descended from Spanish origin) still formed a considerable part of the population of Granada, but most of them, and the newly acquired captives and slaves, lived in the palaces of the ruling family. They often held key posts in Granada's government and army. Eulogies were recited before them exactly as they were recited before kings and high officials.⁽²⁾ Among them was Abu al-Na'īm Ridwān, who was chamberlain to King Yūsuf I and King Muḥammad V, and who was appointed commander of Granada's army, a post he held for a long time. He was rivalled in the offices he held by another muwallad known as 'Isām.⁽³⁾ Ibn Khaldūn says that it was a

(1) See: 'Ibar, vol. 7, p. 393, 609-611, 633-635, 697-707, Nufāda, pp. 184, 267-271 & 299.

(2) Katība, p. 69.

(3) See Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 537 & 507-513.

habit of the Granadine kings to favour slaves and grant them high offices in the state's administration.⁽¹⁾ They therefore led armies, travelled as envoys,⁽²⁾ and accompanied their kings on their journeys and military expeditions.⁽³⁾ Private teachers were engaged to teach their sons.⁽⁴⁾ They were also responsible for many assassinations of kings and ministers in Granada.⁽⁵⁾ Beside the muwalladūn, there was a large number of Spaniards in the Naṣrid palaces as slaves and captives. They were employed in the construction of the Naṣrid palaces.⁽⁶⁾ In addition to these Spanish slaves, there were great numbers of African and Turkish slaves in the Naṣrid palaces. Some of them came to Granada as gifts from the Moroccan, Tunisian and Tlemcen kings.⁽⁷⁾

The Turkish slaves were used as a bodyguard of the Naṣrid kings.⁽⁸⁾ They might have been brought to Granada from Morocco and Tunisia where many Turks served as slaves and soldiers.⁽⁹⁾

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- (1) Muqaddima, vol. 2, p. 453.
(2) Los Documentos, pp. 69 & 101.
(3) Nufaḍa, p. 285.
(4) Durra, vol. 2, pp. 75-76.
(5) Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 540, vol. 2, p. 137.
(6) See a poem inscribed on Alhambra walls, Estudio, pp. 42-43.
(7) Ta'rif, p. 959; Ihāṭa, vol. 2, p. 523; Nafḥ, vol. 7, p. 183; Azhar, vol. 2, pp. 55-56 & Diwān Lisān, p. 537.
(8) Diwān Lisān, p. 537.
(9) Diwān Lisān, p. 238, L. I. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥasan al-ʿImrānī al-Sharīf, a Moroccan poet, addresses King Yūsuf I of Granada, criticizing him for having many black African slaves in his court, and says:

عبدان لا حليم ولا آداب	ما لي أرى تاج الملوك وحوليه
نغري قلب ريشه وغراب	فكأنه البازي الصيود وحوليه
أسنى المحافل غيرها أتراب	يا أيها الملك الكرام جوده
ان العبيد محلها الابواب	أبدلها بالبيض من صفيهما

(Ihāṭa, vol. 2, p. 523).

Some scholars say there were no Christians living in Nasrid Granada. M. Watt says "there were no Mozarabic Christians, but it is not clear whether this was because of some definite enactment or because the attitude of ordinary Muslims made life unpleasant for them".⁽¹⁾ One cannot take this for granted, since there is much evidence that there was a Christian community in Granada.⁽²⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb, referring to the Christians who lived in Granada before the Nasrid era, says that in 559/1163 they conspired against Muslim rule, so that many of them were evacuated, but a small minority of them were still living in Granada in his time (8th/14th century).⁽³⁾ Moreover freedom of trade between Granada and the Spanish states allowed many Christians to travel and live in Granada.⁽⁴⁾

Jews also constituted a considerable portion of the population of Granada. Scott says that there were fifteen thousand Jewish families resident in Granada in the 14th century.⁽⁵⁾ The Nasrid kings continued the policy of previous Arab rulers in Spain in treating Jews kindly and allowing them to practise their trades, to worship freely in their temples⁽⁶⁾ and to fill high offices in the state. They also

(1) Watt, p. 148.

(2) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 114; Los Documentos, p. 1; Ibar, vol. 7, p. 443; Bāsīt/Maq, p. 315; Khatra, pp. 32-33 & Conde, p. 165.

(3) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 114.

(4) Los Documentos, pp. 1 & 4, Khatra, pp. 32-33.

(5) Scott, vol. 3, p. 149.

(6) Diwān Lisān, p. 652.

took part in the cultural and educational life. Many of them specialized in medicine.⁽¹⁾ Among them was Yaḥyā Ibn al-Ṣā'igh who was the physician of the ruling family at the beginning of the fifteenth century; and he is reported to have planned the assassination of the prime minister, Khālīd.⁽²⁾ Before him, the Jewish physician Ibrāhīm Ibn Zarzār was doctor to the Naṣrid family and he was appointed vizier of Ismā'īl Ibn Yūsuf in 760/1358.⁽³⁾

Many names of Jewish physicians occur in Arabic sources in Naṣrid Granada.⁽⁴⁾ Some Granadine Jews were employed as ambassadors of the Granadine court to the Spanish states.⁽⁵⁾

In 1314 the Granadine Jews were ordered by King Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj not to abandon the wearing of their distinctive dress. King Ismā'īl ordered also that Jews must be treated according to Muslim law.⁽⁶⁾ On one hand this decision meant that Jews could enjoy their religious freedom and be treated as Granadine subjects, but on the other hand, Jews had to remain distinguishable from Muslims by wearing their traditional yellow headcloths with yellow caps.⁽⁷⁾ The probable incentive for this decision was the participation of the Jews

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- (1) See verses by Ibn Juzaiy in: Azhār, vol. 3, p. 197.
(2) Istiḡsā', vol. 4, p. 81 & Inscripciones, p. 69.
(3) Ihāṭa, vol. 1, p. 402 & Ta'rīf, p. 880.
(4) Durra, vol. 1, p. 125 & Bāsit/Book, p. 44.
(5) Tamuda, 4, 1956, pp. 1-29 & Los Documentos, p. 14.
(6) Lamha, p. 84.
(7) Creṣtomatía, p. 28 & Dīwān Lisān, p. 652.

of the Spanish states in the Aragonese and Castilian attack against Algeciras, Gibraltar and Almeria in 1309⁽¹⁾ (which occurred during the reign of King Ismā'īl); the decision might have been taken by the king in order to keep a watchful eye on the Jews who might pass information and military secrets to their relatives in the Spanish states who would make use of them.⁽²⁾

As Granada constituted only three percent of the Peninsula, and had a far smaller population than the Spanish states, the Granadine kings, writers and jurists encouraged the Mudejars (Muslims living under Spanish rule) to emigrate to the state of Granada, and considered any constraints on that emigration to be against the laws of Religion.⁽³⁾ The Granadine appeals for help succeeded in attracting many people from north Africa who travelled to Granada and lived there.⁽⁴⁾ The Granadine jurists employed many hadīths of the Prophet in support of their need for help; they presented those hadīths which speak of the merit of emigrating from other Muslim countries to Andalusia, no matter whether the new travellers, or residents took part in the struggle against the Spaniards or not.⁽⁵⁾ Such encouragement succeeded in attracting volun-

(1) Un Zayal, p. 384.

(2) For more information about the Granadine Jews see: Garnāta Al-Yahūd, by David Gonzalo Maeso, Universidad de Granada, 1963.

(3) See: Dibāj, p. 304 & Los Documentos, pp. 55-56.

(4) See Previous chapter "Appeals for help".

(5) See: Baṭṭūta, pp. 664-665; Tuhfa, p. 10; Nafh, vol. 1, p. 175 & Rihlat al-Balawi, vol. 2, pp. 151-153.

teers from distant Muslim countries such as Khurāsān and Mecca.⁽¹⁾

Conde refers to the state of Granada at the end of the 14th century, saying:⁽²⁾ "At that time there came merchants to Granada from all parts: Syria, Egypt, Africa, Italy and Armenia; all sent their traffickers to the city, which became the most renowned market in the world. People from every land might then be seen in the streets of the capital: Christians and Jews, no less than the Moslemah, resorted thither, insomuch that Granada seemed to be the common country of all nations".

This phenomenon occurred probably in the intervals of peace which extended sometimes to twenty years or more. But, on the other hand, there was a constant decrease in the size of the population of Granada, caused by the prolonged Granadine-Spanish conflict in which thousands seem to have died in some years. The shrinking of Granada's population was also caused by the constant emigration of the Granadine people to Africa and the Islamic east. It was also caused by the plague which struck Andalusia several times in the Naṣrid era, especially in 1349 in Almeria and Malaga, where more than two thousand funerals took place every day for several months.⁽³⁾ For these reasons and because of the difference

(1) Durar, vol. 3, p. 383, 390.

(2) Conde, p. 292.

(3) Marqaba, p. 156, 148 & Maqna'a, pp. 28-29.

in numbers between the Granadines and the Spaniards, the Granadine writers often complained of the small size of their population.⁽¹⁾

There is no evident estimation of the size of the Granadine population. Murphy says there were three million inhabitants.⁽²⁾ There are figures given by Arab historians which may help the scholar to form an idea of the size of Granada's population. 'Abd al-Bāsiṭ Ibn Khalīl, an Egyptian traveller who visited the city of Granada at the end of the fifteenth century, says that it was so heavily populated that it could contribute to battle eighty thousand warriors with bows and arrows.⁽³⁾ Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī, in his description of the Albaicín district of Granada in 738/1337 says that it was thickly populated and it could contribute to battle fifteen thousand professional soldiers.⁽⁴⁾

Riches, Luxury and Buffoonery

Agriculture in Granada formed the vital part of the economy of that state, because of its fertile Vega and the numerous rivers and streams and rich soil which produced

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- (1) Remiro, p. 214, Nafh, vol. 6, p. 358 & Subh, vol. 5, p. 272.
(2) Murphy, p. 200.
(3) Basit/Mag 313-314.
(4) Wasf Afriqiya, p. 41.

various kinds of fruits and plants. As the kingdom of Nasrid Granada was a coastal state and had a considerable number of ports which were nearest in accessibility to Africa, it was a centre of trading activity, linking Africa and the east on the one hand with Europe on the other. At the same time Granada was rich in many minerals, especially gold, silver and precious stones. Many manufactured goods were produced there such as silk, clothes, diamonds, Malagan pottery, arms and other products.

For all these reasons the Granadine people led a wealthy and luxurious life. This wealth is said to have been one of the main attractions for the European volunteers and adventurers who fought with the Spaniards against Granada.⁽¹⁾

The coinage of Granada was made only of pure gold and silver.⁽²⁾ Precious stones such as zircons, topazes and emeralds were among the finery of the courtiers and members of noble families. Rings, bracelets, necklaces, anklets, and other adornments of rich people were mostly made of pure gold; while the jewellery of the lower classes was mostly made of silver.⁽³⁾

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- (1) For details on the economy of Granada see: Lamha, p. 22; Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 96-98; Mushāhadāt/Miṣyār, p. 77, 82, 88; Rawd, p. 24; Masālik/Andalus, pp. 34-38; Battūta, p. 665; Nafh, vol. 1, pp. 147-152, 162 & 201, Irving, vol. 1, p. 120; Some Aspects, 123, Sordo, p. 117; Hitti, p. 550; Watt, p. 149; Conde, p. 147; Murphy, p. 189 & Bertrand, p. 204.
- (2) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 139; Lamha, p. 40 & Azhār, vol. 1, p. 53.
- (3) Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 138-139 & Lamha, p. 40.

The Granadine people, men and women, were interested in many kinds of self beautification, such as the use of perfume for which they had many markets and on which they spent a great deal of money, especially during their festivals.⁽¹⁾ The Granadine women took great pains to arrange their long hair, and to make it grow even longer. They also used make-up for their faces. Both men and women wore silk clothes.⁽²⁾

Luxury and riches in Granada took other forms; first among these was architectural activity, which is evidenced in the construction of palaces, schools, mosques, parks, hospitals, stadiums, public baths, towers, walls, olive mills, water mills and other buildings. Luxurious villas were also built, consisting of many floors with rich furniture, decorations, and lights. There was a garden attached to every house, planted with orange and lemon trees and flowering plants. Every house, school, mosque, and public bath was supplied with running water.⁽³⁾ The most notable example of this architectural activity was the Alhambra palace. It can be said that the Alhambra was a regal city, where there were royal palaces, large towers, a large number of buildings, the

(1) Masālik/Andalus, p. 41; Subh, vol. 5, p. 214 & Nathīr Farā'id, p. 309.

(2) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 139 & Lamha, p. 40.

(3) See Lamha, p. 62 ; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 546, vol. 2, p. 50; Subh, vol. 5, p. 214, Conde, p. 133; Nafh, vol. 3, pp. 217-220; Scott, p. 434; Murphy , pp. 190-197; Inscripciones, p. 172; Estudio, p. 144; Masālik/Andalus, p. 39-41. See also: "The Hispano-Arab garden: its philosophy and function", by James Dickie in "Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies", vol. xxxi, 1968, pp. 237-248.

king's chapel, a royal mosque, slaves' quarters, guests' quarters, governmental offices, high walls, many gates, fountains, food stores, arms stores, stables and many other buildings and houses.

The Alhambra was first founded by King Muḥammad I Ibn al-Aḥmar in the year 1238 on a red hill beside the River Darro and on the ruins of the old qasaba. Muḥammad I built towers and walls and installed a water supply. This work was continued by his successors who added new buildings, and enlarged and decorated the halls and towers.⁽¹⁾

The art of singing was another facet of the luxurious life that Granadine people led. The singing and music clubs were called dūr al-samāʿ.⁽²⁾ In these clubs there was no separation between the men and women who came either to sing or to listen. Referring to the singing in Granada, Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:⁽³⁾ "كان فاشيا حتى بالدكاكين التي تجمع كثيرا من الأحداث"

"It was widely spread even in the shops where many youngsters gathered".

Ibn Khaldūn who spent a few years in Granada in the middle of the fourteenth century, refers to the art of singing

(1) See pp. 8-9 above.

(2) See Nafh, vol. 5, p. 453, verses of Ibn al-Jayyāb.

(3) Lamḥa, p. 40 & Iḥāta, vol. 1, p. 137.

and music in Granada in the 8th/14th century, saying: ⁽¹⁾

”وهذا كالحال في الأندلس لهذا العهد فانا نجد فيها رسوم الصنائع قائمة
وأحوالها مستحكمة راسخة في جميع ما تدعو اليه عوائد أمصارها كالمباني والطبخ
وأصناف الغناء واللهو من الآلات والأوتار والرقص، وتتزيد الفرش في القصور
وحسن الترتيب والأوضاع في البناء وصوغ الآنية من المعادن والخزف وجميع
المواعين وإقامة الولائم والأعراس وسائر الصنائع التي يدعو اليها الترف وعوائده،
ف نجد هم أقوم عليها وأبصر بها ونجد صنائعها مستحكمة لديهم”

"This is the situation, for instance, in contemporary Spain. There we find the crafts and their institutions still in existence. They are well established and firmly rooted, as far as the things required by the customs of (Spanish) cities are concerned. (They include,) for instance, building, cooking, the various kinds of singing and entertainment, such as instrumental music, string instruments and dancing, the use of carpets in palaces, the construction of well-planned, well - constructed houses, the production of metal and pottery vessels, all kinds of utensils, the giving of banquets and weddings, and all the other crafts required by luxury and luxury customs. One finds that they practise and understand these things better (than any other nation) and that they know well the crafts that belong to them. They have an abundant share of these things and have distinctly more of them than any other city".(2)

There are many indications in Granadine literature that both men and women took part in the arts of singing, music and dancing. ⁽³⁾

(1) Muqaddima, p. 402.

(2) See: The Muqaddimah, vol. 2, pp. 349-350, Translated by Franz Rosenthal, London, 1958.

(3) See for example: Diwān Lisān, p. 412, Nubdha, p. 5, Diwān Ibn Khātima, pp. 298 & 252 & A'māl, vol. 2, p. 349.

Books were written on music in Granada, but unfortunately none of them seem to have come down to us.⁽¹⁾ The names of many musical instruments, however, occur in Granadine literary writings.⁽²⁾ Among the famous Granadine musicians was Muḥammad Ibn Lubb, who lived in the 8th/14th century, and who wrote tunes and played them on musical instruments of his make. It is said he was highly favoured by many Granadine people.⁽³⁾ Singing, music and dancing were practised on all social, national and even religious occasions,⁽⁴⁾ and in all public festivities. Conde says that after the Granadine victories and their feasts, groups of young people, both boys and girls, marched in the streets of Granada, singing, dancing and playing music.⁽⁵⁾ These arts were a vital part of the entertainment during the Granadines' pleasure trips to gardens and rivers.⁽⁶⁾

There are many indications that the people of Granada had been accustomed to using hashish before the beginning of the 14th century, and that they took it openly. This experience may have come to them from eastern countries such as Iraq, Persia, Syria and Egypt, who knew of hashish in earlier times. It could have been carried to Granada by merchants and

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- (1) See: Nafh, vol. 7, p. 99.
(2) Durar, vol. 4, p. 103; Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 360; Dīwān Lisān, p. 414 & Rā'iḳ, p. 47, 52, 54.
(3) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 226.
(4) See Dīwān Lisān, p. 555 L. 14-15 & Āzhār, vol. 1, p. 245.
(5) Conde, pp. 253 & 263.
(6) See Dīwān Lisān, p. 252, 412 & 414.

travellers.⁽¹⁾ The hashish plant was known to them as al - qinnab al-hindī and al-hashīsh. Among the indications of its spread in Granada is an account by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, referring to the Granadine King Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl (762 - 763/1360-1361), and saying that he was used to hashish and that he encouraged his friends to take it.⁽²⁾ Ibn al-Khaṭīb also reports that one of his students came to the classroom after taking hashish. Ibn al-Khaṭīb seems not to have found it strange, but addressed the student jokingly in verse.⁽³⁾ Ibn Zamrak, a contemporary and a student of Ibn al-Khaṭīb, refers in one of his verses to the phenomenon.⁽⁴⁾

Poets also wrote verses describing hashish and the pleasure it gives. One of the poems on this subject was written by Muḥammad Ibn Khamīs al-Ḥajarī al-Ru'ainī, who died in Granada in 708/1308. He describes hashish and recommends its use instead of wine, due to the many virtues it has, including the fact that it was not prohibited in his time.⁽⁵⁾

(1) For the history of hashish see: Zāhirat ta'āṭī al - Hashīsh, by Sa'd al-Maghribī, Da' al-Ma'ārif, Egypt, 1963, see also: Le Bon, p. 270.

(2) Nufādā, p. 183.

(3) Diwān Lisān, p. 315 & Ihāṭa, MS, fol. 190.

(4) Diwān Lisān, p. 305.

(5) Durra, vol. 2, pp. 28-29. The poem reads:

معقة خضراء لون الزبرجد	دع الخمر واشرب من مداة حيدر
يعيل على غصن من البان أملد	يعا طيكها كأس من الانس أغيد
على القوم مما فوق خد مورد	فتحسبها في كفه أذ يد يرهما
ولا عصرت بالرجل يوما ولا اليد	هي النكر لم تنكح بعا سحابة
ولا قريوا من دنسها نفس ملحد	ولا عبث القسيس يوما بد نهبا
ولا حد عند الشافعي وأحمد	ولا نص في تحريمها عند مالك
فخذها بحد مشرفي مهند	ولا أثبت النعمان تنجيس غينها
فلا تستمع فيها كلام المفند	وفيهما معان ليس للخمر مثلها
ولم تطرح يوم السرور الى غد	فنف الكف اللوم بالكف واسترح
وباتيك بالأخبار من لم تزود	ستبدي لك الأيام ما كنت جاهلا

(The last verse has been quoted from the mu'allāqa of Ṭarafa)

It seems that the Muslim jurists had not proved the illegality of hashish, though there were many juridicial points of view which judged the taking of hashish to be illegal under Islamic law. Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān al-Shāṭibī al-Andalusī, who died in Alexandria in 672 / 1273 wrote a book called Zahr al-ʿArīsh fī ṭaḥrīm al-Hashīsh. Abū Ḥayyān al-Gharnāṭī, a famous Granadine linguist and grammarian who died in Egypt,⁽²⁾ and Ibn al-Azraq the Granadine who lived at the end of 15th century, say that hashish is illegal.⁽³⁾

Sports

The people of Granada were eminently fond of various kinds of physical activities and displays. Most of these sports were related to chivalry and were practised mainly by the aristocracy of Granada and the members of the royal family, and were favoured and attended by the ordinary Granadine people. Hunting was the most popular sport. The Granadine kings used hunting dogs, falcons and horses for their hunting trips.⁽⁴⁾ King Ismāʿīl Ibn Faraj who died in 725/1324 and his son Muḥammad amused themselves with falconry and hunting.⁽⁵⁾ Referring to the Granadine King Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl, who ruled in

(1) Nafh, vol. 2, p. 141.

(2) Al-Bahr al-Muḥīt, vol. 4, p. 242, Cairo, 1328 A.H.

(3) Badāʾiʿ al-Silk, vol. 2, p. 536.

(4) See Durar, vol. 4, p. 10 & Azhār, vol. 2, p. 103, 137.

(5) Conde, p. 237 & Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 532.

763 / 1362 , Ibn al-Khaṭīb says that he used to breed a pack of dogs, treating their diseases and using them for hunting.⁽¹⁾ Other members of the Naṣrid family are reported to have been fond of falconry.⁽²⁾ The Granadine poets wrote many poems and muwashshahs in which they described hunting trips and the return from those trips by the Naṣrid kings.⁽³⁾ In these poems hunting trips were considered military exercises.⁽⁴⁾

In times of peace Granada appears to have been a city of entertainment and amusement for much of the year. Its people celebrated a great number of national, social and religious occasions every year such as ‘Īd al-Fitr, ‘Īd al-Adhā, al-Nairūz, the Prophet's birthday, as well as occasional festivals such as the birth of a new prince, the circumcision of the kings' sons, royal weddings, the accession to the throne, the construction of new halls and wards of the Alhambra, the achievement of victories against the Spaniards, and other occasions.

On these occasions various sports and contests were held, army reviews were arranged, the people of Granada were invited, and invitations were sent to the nobles and poets of Granada, Africa, and other parts of the world, including the Spanish

(1) Ihātā, vol. 1, p. 523.

(2) Lamha, p. 36.

(3) For examples see Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 154 & 264; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 103, 137 & 203 & Ihātā, vol. 2, p. 307.

(4) See pp. 191-192 above.

states.⁽¹⁾ Banquets were also prepared for these occasions,⁽²⁾ besides decorations and other displays.⁽³⁾ Dancing, singing and drumbeating accompanied these celebrations.⁽⁴⁾

The exercises of chivalry were the most obvious sports practised on these occasions. The chivalrous contests and races were held in the newly built sportsgrounds and in the rebuilt Roman sportsgrounds to which the Granadine poets refer. Ibn al-Khaṭīb, describing horse racing in Granada, says⁽⁵⁾

كما قذف الملمومة النار والنفس ط	وأرسلت يوم السبق كل طمرة
وأوفت بهاد كالظليم اذا يعطو	رنت عن كحيل كالغزال اذا رنا
تخط على الصم الملا ب اذا تخطو	وقامت على منحوتة من زيرجد
تألق في استخطاطه القس والقسط	وكل عتيق من تعاثل رومة

"You released race horses, on the day of the race, as if projectiles of fire and oil were shot.

They (the horses) of noble breed gazed round like gazelles, and came preceded by a horse like a male ostrich when it raises its head. This (the race) was in a stadium which seems to have been engraved in chrysolite; The horses' hoofs left their marks, In ancient Roman stadiums which priests and archbishops designed and constructed with great skill and care."

There were stadiums in Granada, Almeria, Malaga and outside many cities of the state. The sportsground of Granada was known as al-Mal'ab al-ʿIdī (i.e: The festival playground).⁽⁶⁾

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- (1) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 462, vol. 7, pp. 183, 187 & 193; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 55.
(2) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 193.
(3) Azhār, vol. 2, p. 101.
(4) Diwān Lisān, p. 555; Azhār, vol. 1, p. 245 & Conde, p. 263.
(5) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 462.
(6) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 462.

It seems it resembled a stadium built to accommodate a variety of games and sports.

The horsemanship and chivalrous tournaments on the sports fields of Granada are described in many Granadine poems.⁽¹⁾ There were horse and camel races, and contests in which swords, lances, arrows, and staves were used, between horsemen either mounted or on foot. The contestants were usually followed by mules and camels with ornamented and embellished howdahs carrying various rewards for the winners and firewood for cooking food after the celebrations.

The mounted horsemen also had to be heavily accoutred with armour, shields, swords and lances. These contests and tournaments were the favoured sport of the Granadine kings and nobles. The Granadine kings practised the ideals of chivalry, and there are many accounts which relate how most of them took part in chivalrous exercises. Ibn al-Khaṭīb speaks of Muḥammad Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj who died in 733/1332, and says:⁽²⁾

"جلس ظهور الخيل ، وأفرس من جال على ظهورها ، لا تقع العين وان غصت الميادين
على أدرب بركض الجياد منه . . ."

"Tenacious on horseback, and the most skilful of those who rode horses. And though the tourney fields are crowded with horsemen, he remains the most experienced one in horsemanship"

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- (1) For example see: Nafh, vol. 7, pp. 187, 201, 205, 209, 213 & 297; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 64-65, 76, 87-88, 91, 114 & 119.
(2) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 532.

The chief recreations of King Muḥammad V were, according to Ibn al-Khaṭīb, chivalrous exercises, tournaments and other displays of dexterity in arms on horseback.⁽¹⁾ In the biographies of the Granadines one finds that many of them were skilful at chivalrous exercises.⁽²⁾ The Granadine kings used to grant rewards for excellence to the horsemen. Special compilations were written in Granada on the subject of chivalry teaching people how to apply themselves to learning the tactics of chivalry. Hilyat al-fursān, and Tuhfat al - Anfus of Ibn Hudhail, are examples in point. Chivalry was taught at the schools and educational institutions of Granada, and it is said that there was a college in the Madrasa of Granada for teaching military sciences.⁽³⁾ In part of his letter to prince 'Ajḷān Ibn Asad al-Dīn of Mecca in 770/1368, Ibn al-Khaṭīb, on behalf of King Muḥammad V, says:⁽⁴⁾

"والصبيان تدرب على العمل بالسلاح وتعلم أحكام الجهاد تعلم القرآن في الألواح"

"The boys are being trained in the use of arms and taught the stipulations of a holy war just as they learn to read the Qurān".

In another letter sent to Ibn Qalawūn of Egypt in 767/1365, Ibn al-Khaṭīb says:⁽⁵⁾

"School boys are being trained in the requirements of a holy war and martyrdom".

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- (1) See Lamha, p. 113 & Conde, p. 274.
 (2) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 250; Nathir Farā'id, p. 332; Katība, p. 205, & Durar, vol. 1, p. 105.
 (3) Mc Cabe, p. 252.
 (4) Subh, vol. 7, p. 47.
 (5) Subh, vol. 8, p. 111.

As already mentioned, invitations were sent to the nobles of north Africa, Egypt and many other countries to attend the festivities of Granada.⁽¹⁾ Spanish sources say that numerous cavaliers from Spain, north Africa, Egypt and France came to attend these festivities as participants and spectators.⁽²⁾ They were given assurances of safety from the Naṣrid kings. They were also treated with much honour in the Naṣrid court. There were certain Christian cavaliers at the court of Granada at different times,⁽³⁾ since this court was the refuge of many Aragonese and Castilian cavaliers who were ill-treated in their kingdoms.⁽⁴⁾

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Among the chivalrous games displayed in the stadiums of Granada was a game in which an object was raised high in the air and aimed at by horsemen on horseback with staves and arrows. Al-Maqqarī in his book Nafh al-Ṭīb calls this object al-ṭilba (the goal),⁽⁵⁾ but gives no further details about it. However, this game is described in many poems written about the Granadine festivals. From the various descriptions given in these poems one can only form an incomplete image of the game: it seems that the elevated object was a thick tree-trunk cut carefully and carved like a large pipe. At the top, in the centre was fixed a high tower-like piece of wood or metal embellished with gold and

(1) See Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 60, 76 & 119.

(2) Conde, p. 292 & Scott, p. 503.

(3) Conde, p. 294.

(4) Ibid, p. 308.

(5) Nafh, vol. 6, p. 456 & vol. 7, p. 184.

pieces of coloured silk and other cloth; this object seems to have been designed to be flung high in the air at great speed, most likely by some mechanical device, and it had to fly up quickly, higher than the trees and palaces. Below this raised object, sometimes even at night, in the sports-grounds of Granada, horsemen rode their horses round it and threw their pointed staves and fire arrows, trying to get them to pass through the carved wood. The Granadine poets, in their descriptions of this game, concentrate on how some of the horsemen hit the goal, while others failed. The target the poets say, looked like a large snake swallowing the many staves shot at it. The staves looked like moths flying around a lamp, or like bees trying to enter their beehives.⁽¹⁾ This game, in which horsemen threw their arrows and staves upwards in the direction of their goal, was probably intended to train the horsemen to storm fortresses with high walls and towers.

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Indications that the Granadine people took part in bullfighting are to be found in Granadine poetry. The Arabs in Spain are said to have rebuilt and embellished the ancient Roman bullfighting amphitheatres, and they practised bullfighting side by side with the Spaniards.⁽²⁾ This is emphasized by the

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- (1) For poems describing this game see: Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 462 & 456, vol. 7, pp. 184, 187, 193, 203 & 297; Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 65, 72, 89 & 77.
(2) See Encyclopaedia Britannica, art. "Bullfighting."

aforementioned verses of Ibn al-Khaṭīb concerning the sports fields in Granada. According to the descriptions given by the Granadine poets of the game of bullfighting in Granada, the game usually started with a short fight between the wild bulls and savage bull dogs. The dogs attacked the bull wounding his legs and clinging to his ears so that they looked like rings in his ears, while the bull's sharp horns looked like a crown on the top of his head. After the bull had been stirred up by the dogs, a Granadine armed horseman on horseback took the field, fought the angry bull and ended the fight by killing it with his long lance.⁽¹⁾

The bullfighting, especially that between dogs and wild bulls, seems to have been a recognition of an Arabic image which the early Arab poets used when they described in their classical poems a desert journey where wild zebras or wild bulls were usually attacked by hunting dogs or by predatory animals who killed them. However, Granada was not the only Muslim country to know bullfighting. There was in Morocco at that time another form of bullfighting. The fight began between a lion and a bull. The latter with his sharp horns used to defeat the lion. Horsemen with long lances came after that to the arena to fight the defeated lion and kill the animal as he, in his turn, overcame some of them.⁽²⁾

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- (1) For descriptions of this game in Granadine poetry see: Nafh, vol. 6, pp. 459-450 & 462, vol. 7, p. 295.
(2) For descriptions of bullfighting in Morocco see: Ihāṭa, vol. 2, p. 19; Nathīr, pp. 327 & 343; Dīwān Lisān, p. 224 & Azhār, vol. 3, p. 189.

Circus displays, such as dancing on tightropes and performing amazing acrobatics were also well-known and popular in Nasrid Granada. Referring to the circus dancer Ibn Zamrak says in one of his poems:⁽¹⁾

يمشي على خط به متوهـم	ومتّوع الحركات قد ركب الهوا
أبصرت طيرا حلّ صورة آدمي	فاذا هوى من جوه ثم استوى
منه مساور ذابـل أو أرقـم	يمشي على فنن الرشاء كأنه

"What a dancer, with his various displays, when he rode the space through which he walked on an imaginary line!.. When he jumped down from space and stood up-right, he looked like a bird in human shape. He walked on a rope as if he was jumping on the edge of a sword or on the body of a snake".

Among the circus games there was one in which some mechanical device seems to have been used. It was a circular device in which people stood and which moved with them. In the above-mentioned poem Ibn Zamrak continues:⁽²⁾

ابداع كلّ مهندس ومهندـم	ومدارة الأفلاك أعجز كنهمـا
عن مستوى قد فيه لم يتقدـم	يمشي الرجال بجوفها وجميعهم

"What a wondrous wheeled circle; its secret defied all engineers and designers. Men inside it seemed to be walking while they did not move one step forward!"

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- (1) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 187-188; Azhār, vol. 2, p. 65. For more descriptions of the circus games see: Nafh, vol. 7, p. 204 & Azhār, vol. 2, pp. 90-91.
- (2) Nafh, vol. 7, p. 187 & Azhār, vol. 2, p. 65.

The Granadine people used also to watch the army reviews which were arranged during the various festivities. Men, women and children from Granada and from all parts of the state used to gather in Granada to watch these reviews, some of which lasted for many weeks because the king reviewed different forces every day.⁽¹⁾

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The Granadine Women

Women in Granada were not excluded from social educational and political events in the country, and were in some cases active participants in the events. Many of these women were professional singers and dancers. They used to dance with swords in their hands, and it is reported that they took part in sword contests. The women of Ubeda, north east of Cordova, were reported to have been very skilful at swordplay, thus attracting as spectators many residents and travellers.⁽²⁾ Further evidence for this is provided by Ibn al-Khaṭīb while writing about Ismā'īl Ibn Yūsuf, who overthrew his brother, King Muḥammad V, in 760/1358, Ibn al-Khaṭīb says that the new king's accession was celebrated by women who accompanied him to the royal palace, singing and dancing with swords as was usually done in dancing clubs and places of entertainment.⁽³⁾ There is moreover much evidence that the

(1) Nuzha, pp. 117-118; Nubdha, p. 3 & Durra, vol. 3, p. 337.

(2) Nafh, vol. 3, p. 317 & Crestomatia, p. 51.

(3) Ḥaṭa, vol. 1, pp. 399-400.

Granadine women appeared alongside men in public places and in dancing, singing and music clubs. In a letter directed to his subjects King Muhammad V told them he would despatch a person to every city and town to look for those who arranged meetings between men and women.⁽¹⁾ When Ismā'īl Ibn Faraj ascended to the throne of Granada in 718/1318 he is said to have prohibited the attendance of women and female slaves at banquets and the singing and dancing clubs where they would meet men. He also ordered that women should dance and sing in the presence of women only.⁽²⁾

In his compilations Ibn al-Khatīb gives some details of the customs and physical attributes of the Granadine women. Referring to the women of Granada he says:⁽³⁾ "They are handsome and mostly of a middle stature, affable, and take great pains to arrange their long hair. They are lavish in the use of the most fragrant perfumes, and their teeth are beautifully white.... It is regrettable, however, that the magnificence of their attire and adornment is reaching the brink of fantasy...". They beautified themselves with all sorts of gold, diamonds, make-up and very expensive silk clothes.⁽⁴⁾ There are also many indications that some Granadine women appeared in public without head cover or veil.⁽⁵⁾ The jurists of that time

(1) Rayḥāna, MS, p. 111.

(2) Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 388.

(3) Iḥāṭa, vol. 1, p. 139 & Lamḥa, p. 40. (Tr. Murphy, p. 299)

(4) Ibid.

(5) Khatra, pp. 33-34, 18, 24 & 37 & Rā'iḳ, p. 30.

used to say that these phenomena were a result of the Granadines' contact with the Spanish states. (*)

But these phenomena should not distract attention from the cultural and political roles of the Granadine women. Many of them shared with men the wish to search for knowledge. They attended lectures,⁽¹⁾ specialized in many fields of knowledge⁽²⁾ and became masters in these fields, and they wrote poetry.⁽³⁾

On the political side, the Granadine women played a major part in the events which took place in Naṣrid Granada. Firstly, the Granadine rulers followed the desires of their ladies and the advice of their mothers and grandmothers in political matters.⁽⁴⁾ Secondly, Granadine women were subject to captivity, enslavement and the slave trade by the Spaniards.⁽⁵⁾ This matter was one of the main elements used by the Granadine rulers to secure military aid from the Moroccan rulers, and it also obviously incited the Granadine people to rush to the battlefield against the Spaniards.

(*) See al-Durr al-Munazzam. pp. 21 & 28.

(1) Bughya, vol. 1, p. 187.

(2) Durra, vol. 1, p. 77.

(3) Nafh, vol. 2, p. 559; Durar, vol. 5, pp. 68, 167 & 195, vol. 2, p. 340; Ihāta, MS, fol. 82, 141, vol. 1, p. 430.

(4) For an example of this see: Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 378.

(5) Los Documentos, pp. 11 & 80; Nubdha, p. 25; Hitti, p. 554 & Mc Cabe, p. 277.

On the other hand, if the historical accounts concerning the numbers of Spanish female captives taken by the Granadine army after its victories over the Spaniards are true,⁽¹⁾ this would mean that many thousands of Christian women were resident in the houses of Granada and in Naṣrid palaces. Besides being a form of entertainment and a source of pleasure, these captive ladies were one of the major reasons for the decline and consequently the fall of Granada to the Spaniards.⁽²⁾ It might not be surprising to find that more than one third of the twenty one Naṣrid kings died at the hands of assassins, most likely because of the hatred between the ladies of the palace. Moreover most of the upheavals and revolutions in Granada were led by the kings' relatives and brothers from different mothers. These often led to splits in the unity of the Granadine people and to destructive civil wars.

In 708/1308 Naṣr Ibn Muḥammad al-Aḥmar overthrew his brother King Muḥammad III. Muḥammad was the son of an Arab woman (Nuzha), while Naṣr was the son of a Christian woman (Shams al-Ḍuḥā).⁽³⁾ In other cases, Muḥammad Ibn Ismāʿīl Ibn Faraj was assassinated in 733/1332 and was succeeded by his brother Yūsuf I. The assassinated king was the son of a Christian captive (ʿUlwa) while his successor was the son of

(1) Nafh, vol. 1, p. 451, vol. 5, p. 105; Subh, vol. 5, p. 272; Remiro, p. 318 & Istiṣṣa', vol. 1, p. 43.

(2) See note 4, p. 62 above.

(3) Nuzha, p. 119 & Mc Cabe, p. 255.

another Christian woman (Bahār).⁽¹⁾ In 760/1358 Muḥammad V was dethroned by his brother Ismāʿīl. The dethroned king was the son of a Christian woman (Buthayna), while his successor was the son of another Christian woman (Maryam) who incited and assisted her son to capture the throne.⁽²⁾

And finally, the destructive civil war in Granada which occurred shortly before its capitulation to the Spaniards, was caused by jealousy between ʿĀʾisha, the Arab wife of King Abū al-Ḥasān ʿAlī, and Thurayya, the Christian wife.⁽³⁾ ʿĀʾisha⁽⁴⁾ incited her son Boabdil to struggle for the throne of Granada, which led to a great split among the Granadine people and to a civil war which compelled Boabdil to surrender Granada to Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492. It is worth mentioning here that ʿĀʾisha, who caused that civil war, was the same woman who shouted at her son Boabdil in the place called El Ultimo Suspiro del Moro (the last sigh of the Moor), when he wept at his departure from Granada for Fez, saying to him:

ابك مثل النساء ملكا مضاعا لم تحافظ عليه مثل الرجال

"Weep like women for a lost domain you
did not defend like men do".

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- (1) Nuzha, p. 132; Durar, vol. 5, pp. 50 & 227; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 538 & Inscripciones, p. 63.
(2) Nuzha, pp. 134-135; Ibar, vol. 4, p. 375; Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 398; Durar, vol. 4, pp. 10-11; Inscripciones, p. 63 & Nufāda, pp. 103 & 129.
(3) Nubdha, pp. 5, 6 & 10; Bāsīt/Maq, p. 327 & Nafh, vol. 4, pp. 512-514.
(4) See p. 56 above.

Spanish Influence

The continuous contact between the Granadines and the Spaniards in war and peace resulted in increasing Spanish influence in Granadine society. The Granadines followed the Spanish example in many respects, and Ibn Khaldūn explains this phenomenon by reference to his historical theory which says that a vanquished nation always finds itself impelled to imitate the nation that defeated it. Ibn Khaldūn gives an example from the case of Granada and says:⁽¹⁾ "At this time, this is the case in Spain with the Castilian nations; you find that the Andalusian Muslims follow the Castilian example in fashions of dress, emblems and most of their customs and habits, even to hanging images on the walls of their villas and houses. Thus the intelligent observer will draw from this the conclusion that they are omens of the Christians' takeover".

The Granadine kings used for some time to imitate the Spanish kings in their royal fashions, and used similar clothes, arms and tactics and styles of warfare.⁽²⁾ The Frankish bow was the most famous weapon in Granada, whose people continued to train in the use of those bows throughout Nasrid rule.⁽³⁾

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- (1) Muqaddima, vol. 2, p. 450-451; Badāi, vol. 2, p. 756; Crestomatia, p. 29. See also Muqaddima, vol. 1, p. 253.
(2) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 136; Lamha, p. 39 & Crestomatia, p. 27.
(3) Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 137; Lamha, p. 39 & Khatra, p. 32.

Besides, there is much evidence that many people and kings of Granada spoke the Romance language, and much of its vocabulary entered their daily conversations. Moreover, some of the Granadine people, especially those of the upper classes boasted of speaking the Romance language and adopting Spanish habits and customs.⁽¹⁾

Furthermore the Granadine people used to celebrate the Christian festivals, especially Christmas, the New Year, Easter and other religious feasts, and they used to wait eagerly for these festivals and prepare pastries, sweets and a variety of food and fruit.⁽²⁾ This habit however, was found in Andalusia in the early centuries of Arab rule in Spain.

Many Granadine and Moroccan jurists were highly critical of these habits. In some verses of Ibn al-Murahḥal al-Sabtī, written on behalf of the Moroccan King Abū Yūsuf al-Marīnī in 674/1275 the poet addresses the Granadine King Muḥammad II and refers to the Granadines, saying:⁽³⁾

"You follow the example of the Christians
in their manner of dress, and their language
which they use in public,
You imitate them in their food and drinking
habits, and in their reprehensible practices.
You run down learned men, distinguished
notables of piety and nobility.
How can they find their way back to the true
Faith? If a man doesn't follow the example of
the Prophet he won't find the right path.

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- (1) Ihāta, vol. 2, p. 140, MS, fol. 59; Lamha, p. 75;
Nuzha, p. 124 & Durar, vol. 4, p. 188.
(2) Al-Durr al-Munazzam, pp. 19-21.
(3) Durra, vol. 3, p. 23. See pp. 237 & 239 above.

Spanish influence did not stop with the abovementioned practices; it succeeded in affecting the religious customs and beliefs of the Granadine people. The entire population of many villages in the Nasrid state converted to Christianity⁽¹⁾ and joined the Spanish army during its last campaign to capture Granada.⁽²⁾

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- (1) Nubdha, pp. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34 & 36; Bāsit/Mag, p. 312; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 524 & Azhār, vol. 3, p. 308.
- (2) The growing Spanish influence on the people of Nasrid Granada together with the state's political decline were perhaps among the factors that contributed to the spread of Sufi movements there. Most contemporary Arabic sources refers to the presence of a large number of ribāts or zāwiyas in the city of Granada itself and in many other places in the state (See Durar, vol. 3, p. 81; Subh, vol. 5, p. 214; Masālik/Andalus, p. 41 & Durra, vol. 2, p. 103). The Sufi movements were embraced by all ranks of the Granadine people. The Sufi assemblies concentrated in the Albaicín district where Sufis are said to have had their own leaders, judges, mosques, cemeteries and their own practices of worship (See Badā'i', vol. 1, p. 139; Marqaba, p. 136 & Ihāta, MS, fol. 142, vol. 1, p. 459). Some of their leaders attracted as much as thousands of followers who used to hold meetings at night with the practice of their prayers and Sufi ritual dancing until the early morning (See Badā'i', vol. 2, p. 637, vol. 1, p. 139; Ihāta, MS, fol. 26-30 & Durar, vol. 3, p. 381). Playing the flute, for reasons difficult to ascertain, was in their view one of the most sinful and unforgivable actions (See Marqaba, p. 136 & Ihāta, MS, fol. 142). They are reported to have been among the first to answer a call to jihād and to show extreme bravery on the battlefield (Katiba, p. 40 & Ihāta, MS, fol. 142). Some Nasrid kings are reported to have favoured the Sufi movement and to have displayed a sympathy towards the people who embraced it (See Nathir, p. 79; Dīwān Lisān, p. 348 & Ihāta, MS, fol. 29 & 142, vol. 1, p. 460). But later on the Nasrid seem to have feared the Sufis and their great influence on the Granadine people, that is how we come to see accusations of atheism levelled against them by some of the Nasrid kings especially during the second half of the 8th/14th century (Rayhāna, MS, fol. 111 & 103; Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 374, 387 & 460; Durar, vol. 3, p. 443 & Marqaba, p. 143). During this period and the early part of the 9th/15th century it is not unusual to find some Arab historians referring to the Albaicín district, which was inhabited mainly by Sufis, as "the shelter of thieves ==

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== and brigands" (Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 460. See also Maqāmat Tasrih al-Nisāl... of 'Umar al-Zajjāl in Azhār, vol. 1, p. 116; Nafh, vol. 5, p. 40. See also Ihāta, vol. 1, p. 387, 459; Nafh, vol. 4, p. 517; Masālik/Andalus, p. 41 & Subh, vol. 5, p. 214).

For more information on the Sufi presence in Nasrid Granada see: Badā'i', vol. 1, p. 139, vol. 2, pp. 637 - 638; Marqaba, p. 136, 143; Ihāta, vol. 1, pp. 189, 387, 374 & 459-461, MS, fol. 26, 28-29, 30, 142; Durar, vol. 3, pp. 81 & 381, Katiba, p. 40, Masālik/Andalus, p. 41; Subh, vol. 5, p. 214; Rayḥāna, MS, fol. 103 & 111 and Arie's book L'Espagne musulmane... pp. 420-423.

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KEY TO SOME OF THE ABBREVIATIONS
OF TITLES
IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

<u>abb.</u>	<u>author</u>
<u>Alhambra</u>	Bargebuhr
<u>Altamira</u>	Altamira y Crevea
<u>A^cmāl</u>	Ibn al-Khaṭīb - <u>A^cmāl al-A^clām</u>
<u>Anīs</u>	Ibn Abī Zar ^c
<u>Azhār</u>	Al-Maqqarī - <u>Azhār al-Riyād</u>
<u>Badā'i^c</u>	Ibn al-Azraq
<u>Bāsiṭ/Book</u>	Ibn Shāhīn al-Malṭī - <u>Deux récits ...</u>
<u>Bāsiṭ/Mag</u>	Ibn Shāhīn al-Malṭī - <u>Al-Rawḍ ...</u>
<u>Baṭṭūṭa</u>	Ibn Baṭṭūṭa
<u>Bughyat al-Ruwwād</u>	Ibn Khaldūn (Yaḥyā B. Muḥammad)
<u>Crestomatía</u>	Lerchundi & Simonet
<u>Daw'</u>	Al-Shakāwī
<u>Dībāj</u>	Ibn Farḥūn
<u>Dīwān Ḥāzim</u>	Al-Qarṭājannī
<u>Dīwān Lisān</u>	Ibn al-Khaṭīb - <u>Dīwān Ibn al-Khaṭīb</u>
<u>Dīwān Yūsuf</u>	Yūsuf III
<u>Durra</u>	Ibn al-Qāḍī - <u>Dhayl wafayāt ...</u>
<u>Durar</u>	Ibn Ḥajar - <u>Al-Durar al-Kāmina ...</u>
<u>Estudio</u>	Almagro Cárdenas
<u>Fawāt</u>	Al-Kutubī
Gómez	García Gómez - <u>Poemas arábigoandaluces</u>
<u>Ḥadā'iq</u>	Ibn 'Asim al-Gharnāṭī (Abū Bakr)
<u>Ḥajjī</u>	Al-Ḥajjī
<u>Ḥilya</u>	Ibn Hudhail - <u>Ḥilyat al-Fursān ...</u>
<u>Ḥulal Sundusiyya ...</u>	Arslān
<u>I^cbar</u>	Ibn Khaldūn - <u>Al-I^cbar...</u>
<u>Ibn al-Jayyāb</u>	Rubiera Mata - <u>Ibn al-Ḥayyāb ...</u>

abb.

Ihāta

Ihāta MS

Iklīl

Inbā'

Ishāra

Istiḡṣā'

Jadhwa

Janna

Katība

Khaṭra

Kunāsa

Lamḥa

Los Documentos

Ma'āthir

Ma'sāt

Manāhiḡ

Maḡālāt

Maḡna'a

Marḡaba

Marḡūma

Masālik

Masālik/Andalus

Mawshiyya

Mufākḡara

Muḡhrib

Mu'nis

Muḡaddima

Mushahadāt

Musnad

Moors

Moorish Culture

author

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Al-Ihāta...

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Al-Ihāta... (B.M. MS)

Al-Nubāhī - Al-Iklīl

Ibn Ḥajar - Inbā' al-Ghamr ...

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Al-Ishāra ...

Al-Nāṣirī

Ibn al-Qāḍī - Jadhwat al-Iḡtibās ...

Ibn 'Aṣim - Jannat al-Rida ...

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Al-Katība al-Kāmīna...

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Khaṭrat al-Tayf...

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Kunāsāt al-Dukkān...

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Al-Lamḡa al-Badriyya..

Documentos (Los)

Al-Qalqashandī - Ma'āthir al-Ināfa ...

Al-Tawātī

Al-Warrāḡ

Ibn Hudḡail - Maḡālāt al-Uḡabā'...

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Maḡna'at al-Sā'il..

Al-Nubāhī - Al-Marḡaba ...

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - al-Ḥulal...

Al-'Umarī - Masālik... (B.M. MS)

Al-'Umarī - Waṣf Ifrīḡya ...

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Al-Ḥulal al-Mawshiyya..

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Mufākḡarāt Mālaḡa ...

Ibn Sa'id

Ibn Abī Dīnār

Ibn Khaldūn

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Mushahadāt ...

Ibn Marzūḡ

Lane-Poole

Burckhardt

abb.

Nafh

Nathīr

Nathīr Farā'id

Nayl

Nazm

Nihāya

Nubdha

Nuzha

Nufāda

Palencia

Qarā'in

Qisṣa

Rā'iq

Rawd

Rawda

Reconquest

Remiro

Shajara

Subh

Sundusiyya

Ta'rif

Tatawwur

Wafī

Wathīqa An/Cas

Zuhr

author

Al-Maqqarī - Nafh al-Tīb...

Ibn al-Aḥmar - Nathīr al-Jumān ...

Ibn al-Aḥmar - Nathīr Farā'id ...

Al-Tanbaktī

Al-Suyūtī - Nazm al-ʿIqyān ...

ʿInān

Nubdhat al-ʿAsr (anon.)

Nuzhat al-Baṣā'ir (anon.)

Ibn al-Khaṭīb - Nufadat al-Jirāb ...

González Palencia

Ibn al-Hājj

Khafājī

Ibn Zarqāla

Al-Himyarī

Ibn al-Aḥmar - Rawdat al-Nisrīn...

Lomax

Gaspar Remiro

Makhlūf

Al-Qalqashandī - Subh al-Aʿshā

Al-Sarrāj

Ibn Khaldūn - Al-Ta'rif...

Al-Maqdisī

Al-Ṣafadī

Wathīqa Andalusīyya... (p. 427)

Amīn (Aḥmad)